

MILTON
AREOPAGITICA
COTTEWILL

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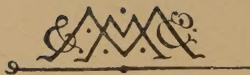
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AREOPAGITICA



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TORONTO

Milton's Areopagitica

A Speech for the Liberty of
Unlicensed Printing

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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Editor of 'Lycidas,' 'Paradise Lost VI.,' Macaulay's 'Milton'
'Goldsmith' and 'Johnson,' Virgil's 'Aeneid I. and VI.'

Extracts from the 'Nibelungenlied,' Selections
from the 'Inferno' etc.

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PREFACE.

THE *Areopagitica* has been annotated several times—*e.g.* by Holt White in 1819, by Lobb in 1872, by Osborn in 1873. Copies of these books are, however, not easily procurable, and the notes given in the various editions of Milton's prose works are too scanty for the needs of the genuine student.

Besides these there is, of course, the copiously annotated edition by Professor Hales in the Clarendon Press Series—a work to some extent founded on that of Holt White, but testifying to not a little original research; and for an advanced scholar whose main object is to work up collateral matter Professor Hales supplies all that is necessary. But by no means every student of the *Areopagitica* can easily decipher notes consisting to a no small extent in Greek and Latin quotations, nor can turn, if he should wish to turn, to even the more accessible of the very numerous books to which Professor Hales refers his readers. For these reasons it seemed advisable to publish an edition more adapted to the wants of those who do not profess intimacy with Greek and Latin, and whose ambition is not so much to explore the literary environment of the *Areopagitica*, and to trace its facts and phrases back to their often distant

and obscure sources, as to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest Milton's magnificent unspoken oration—to understand his arguments and appreciate his sentiments.

While therefore I have supplied data—partly, of course, derived from former editors—sufficient to guide the student in looking up classical and other allusions, I have abstained, as a rule, from intercalating long quotations, cuttings from classical and biographical dictionaries, etc., and have made it the chief aim of both Notes and Introduction to aid the reader to grasp fully the sense of Milton's words. For the same reason I have given a fairly wide berth to philological and grammatical disquisitions, and have adopted modern orthography.

H. B. C.

CHÂTEAU-D'OEX, Sept., 1904.

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INTRODUCTION.

MILTON'S *Areopagitica*, a Speech, as he calls it, for the liberty of unlicensed printing, was written in 1644, and probably published in November of that year.

In order to understand the character of this unspoken oration, and the circumstances which induced Milton to undertake its composition, it may be advisable to glance at the period of his life immediately preceding its publication. I shall then—without attempting to treat the thing exhaustively—add a few remarks on the title and the subject of the work, etc., such as may seem likely to prove interesting and helpful.

I. THE PERIOD OF ITS COMPOSITION.

Milton left Cambridge in 1632, and spent the next five years mostly at his father's house at Horton, in Buckinghamshire. During this period he wrote most of his best-known earlier poems. The *Hymn on the Nativity* and *At a Solemn Music* had been already written, while he was at Cambridge, and possibly also the *Arcades*, but

L'Allegro, *Il Penseroso*, *Comus*, and *Lycidas* were almost certainly ¹ composed during the years 1633-38.

In these poems we can note distinctly the change that began to come over Milton during this period of his life. In the *Nativity Hymn* and the lines *At a Solemn Music*, and in the *Arcades*, we have the preludings of the mighty organ voice, and great beauty and dignity of form, but all is apparently the product of a mind wholly under the influence of books—especially that of the classical poetry of Greece and Italy. There is extraordinary power shown in assimilating and re-casting, and extraordinary susceptibility of artistic form and the music of words, but little that can be called original thought, and still less of that deep and genuine feeling which is essential as a foundation for the loftiest poetry.

In *L'Allegro* and *Penseroso* we meet for the first time in Milton's poetry pictures sketched directly from Nature instead of from books; and we find the earliest signs of the natural tendency of his feelings—that tendency which developed itself so strongly after his Continental travels. Even in *L'Allegro*, as Dr. Johnson remarks, there is 'some

¹ Madame Byse, of Lausanne, has sent me her very interesting book, *Milton on the Continent*, in which she gives many ingenious arguments to support her theory that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* were written after Milton's Continental travels. She goes so far as to assert that the scenery of these poems is that of Bex, in the Rhone Valley, and of the Simplon Pass (on the highest point of which, not far from the old Hospice, where Milton possibly spent a night, I am now writing). In favour of Madame Byse's theory are the facts that neither of these poems is included in Milton's MS. copy of his earlier poems (now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge), which he transcribed in 1641, and that they were not published till 1645. Still, the tone of these poems makes me think that they were *not* written after 1639.

melancholy in the mirth,' and in *Il Penseroso* Milton describes *con amore* the delights of thoughtful sadness. Mirth may have amused a holiday, but it is 'divinest Melancholy' who is to be his life-long companion.

There is already no doubt on which side Milton will range himself. There is as yet, indeed, none of that moral indignation which we hear in the *Comus*, far less any such fierce personal denunciation as that of the *Lycidas*, but it is with a gloomy brow that the poet paces the dim cathedral, and we are ever more and more prepared for what is to come.

'The Milton of *Comus*,' says Mr. Stopford Brooke, 'is not the Milton of the *Penseroso*, still less of the *Allegro*. . . . Milton is driven away from the *Allegro* point of view. In *Comus* the wild license of court society is set over against the grave and temperate virtue of a Puritan life. The unchastity, the glozing lies, the glistening apparel that hid the moral deformity of the enchanter's court, are Milton's allegory of the court society of his time.'

In *Lycidas* we have no such rich-coloured pictures of vice in its fulsome splendour and virtue in its radiant purity, but direct personal invective against the Established Church—invective scarcely less severe and splendid than that of St. Peter in Dante, at which all heaven blushed. Milton's hatred of evil was already formulating itself into a hatred of institutions and of persons: forms of thought, questions of Prelacy, State-churches, Monarchism, and such like things, were beginning to allure him onward through interminable bogs of Ultra-Puritanism, Presbyterianism, Independency, Commonwealthism, and Oliverianism. Soon after

writing *Comus*, and before writing *Lycidas*, he broke away from the Puritan section of the Established Church and joined the Presbyterians.

In the spring of 1638, a few months after the appearance of the *Lycidas*, Milton left England. He spent about fifteen months on the Continent—mostly in Italy—the home of Dante and Virgil. In Florence he remained two months, making the acquaintance of ‘many noble and learned men,’ attending the meetings of private ‘academies’ (literary societies then very much in vogue) and receiving and composing laudatory verses. At Arcetri he visited, as he tells us in the *Areopagitica*, the famous Galileo. From North Italy he went to Rome and Naples, and purposed extending his travels to Sicily and Greece; but he changed his mind at the news of the Glasgow Assembly, and the threatened outbreak of civil war. ‘I thought,’ he says, ‘it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home.’ He lingered, nevertheless, four months at Rome and Florence. Then he passed on to Venice, whence he sent home by sea his collections of books and music. From Venice he crossed to Geneva, probably by the Simplon Pass (then traversed only by a paved sumpter-path, remains of which I can see as I write). At Geneva he seems to have had intercourse with Calvinists, especially with the Genevan theologian Diodati, from whom he probably first learnt of the death of his bosom friend, Charles Diodati.

In the summer of 1638 Milton landed in England. During his travels he had doubtless added much to his knowledge and his taste, and had, as he tells us, received much encouragement, especially from ‘written

encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side of the Alps.' But he had, during these fifteen months, not composed anything of importance, unless we may except his elegant and interesting Italian sonnets. These may have been written in Italy, or shortly after his return to England, about the same time as the Latin Elegy, *Epitaphium Damonis*, composed in memory of his friend Charles Diodati.

Saddened by the death of his one real friend, and full of anxiety as to the future, Milton had returned to England with the intention of joining in the impending struggle for liberty. 'I resolved,' he says, 'though then meditating other matters, to transfer into this struggle all my genius and all the strength of my industry.' What the 'other matters' were, which he was meditating, and which he felt now obliged to put aside, he tells us himself in another place. Speaking of the encomiums of the Italian *conoscenti*, he says, 'I began thus far to assent both to them and to divers of my friends at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study (which I take to be my position in this life), joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let die.'¹

¹ *Reason of Church Government*. This passage, and another that occurs a little later, in which he speaks of the necessity of divine help in such a work, have some resemblance to the sublime and pathetic conclusion of Dante's *Vita Nuova*. Milton was at this time evidently planning some great drama or epic, as we see from the Trinity College Manuscript (of 1641), which contains the titles, and in some cases the drafts, of ninety-nine dramatic or epic poems.

These hopes were now to be abandoned. So great a change had come over him since the days of his early poems that he now regarded it as a glorious duty and privilege to 'interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these,' and to 'embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes' for the sake of what he believed to be political and religious liberty. For nearly twenty years—from the *Epitaphium* to shortly before the Restoration—his life was, as regards poetry, almost entirely barren. Except about a dozen sonnets, he seems to have written no verse. It seems not impossible that Milton may have at first thought of accepting some military post. But he seems to have soon decided to stand apart from the actual fray, 'cheerfully leaving the event of public affairs first to God, and then to those to whom the people had committed that task,' and to devote his talents to influencing public opinion by his writings. The year 1641 is known as the 'Pamphlet Year.' In it Milton wrote four treatises¹—mainly against Episcopacy. In the next year appeared a fifth treatise on a similar subject (*Apology for Smectymnus*), as well as the sonnet, 'When an assault was intended to the city.'

Meanwhile, perhaps in order to gain a livelihood, or possibly because of an urgent appeal made by his sister, or a wish to test his educational theories, he undertook the education of his two nephews, John and Edward Phillips, and, having once made a start in this un-

¹ For the names see Chronological Summary. I have given some information about these and other Treatises in my edition of Macaulay's *Essay on Milton*. If further details are needed, the student should consult some Life of Milton, such as Professor Masson's.

fortunate line, he was persuaded to increase the number of his pupils, and to set up a regular school.¹

In 1643, not long after the declaration of the Civil War, Milton suddenly left London, 'nobody about him,' says his nephew, 'certainly knowing the reason.' After about a month he returned, 'a married man that went out a bachelor.' This hasty marriage proved at first a lamentable failure. Mary Powell was only seventeen years of age. She had been brought up amidst the gaities and frivolities of a cavalier household, and found herself suddenly transplanted to the dreary surroundings of a Presbyterian pedagogue, with whose higher interests she was entirely unable to sympathise. The obnoxious presence of pupils (whom she 'oft-times heard beaten and cry') made all true home-life impossible. Scarcely one month had elapsed before she incited her relations to plan her escape, and having returned to her old home she stayed there, vouchsafing no answer to the messages and letters of her husband. How rapidly the estrangement took place is plain from the almost incredible fact that Milton wrote the first of his Divorce Tracts in the first month of his married life—possibly even before his

¹ The remarks of Dr. Johnson on this subject are amusing—'Let not our veneration for Milton,' he says, 'forbid us to look with some degree of merriment on great promises and small performance—on the man who hastened home because his countrymen are contending for their liberty, and, when he reaches the scene of action, vapours away his patriotism in a private boarding school.' It should not be forgotten that Johnson himself had felt keenly what he calls 'being degraded to a schoolmaster.' According to him teaching was a 'mean employment'; but he allows that 'no wise man will consider it in itself as disgraceful.'

wife had left him. We have now arrived at the year (1644) in which the *Areopagitica* was written.

Professor Hales speaks of this year as witnessing the culmination of Milton's hopefulness. It is true that there is in the *Areopagitica* a great deal of respect lavished on the 'High Court of Parliament,' and an almost unbounded confidence is professed in its wisdom and integrity. But there are also very evident signs that this confidence was already being rapidly undermined, and that the suspicion was already troubling Milton's mind that the success of the parliamentary and presbyterian party was already beginning to tend towards a second civil and religious tyranny. 'It will soon,' he says, 'be put out of controversie that Bishops and Presbyters are the same, both name and thing'—a sentiment which two years later, when he broke with the Presbyterians,¹ he expressed in the line

'New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large.'

The sanguine tone of the *Areopagitica* seems to me to be a little hollow and forced. Milton does not speak as if he had really much hope of the success of his protest.

And when we turn to the sphere of his higher life at this period—the sphere of human love and of poetic activity—we find little in the way of hopefulness. In all that concerned his true happiness and his true calling this year witnessed perhaps the culmination of wretchedness. In a few weeks after his first raptures of wedded bliss he had been deserted by his wife, and was doubtless not unconscious of the fact that it was to a great extent his

¹ They were expelled from Parliament in 1648, when the Independent remnant (the so-called 'Rump') voted for the trial of Charles.

own fault. And he must have only added to his unhappiness by the line that he adopted. In his first *Divorce Tract* he depicts in vivid colours the miseries of an unhappy marriage, and urges as an indefeasible right of man, and as sanctioned by Scripture, the dissolution of marriage on the ground of 'contrariety of mind.' As was to be expected, he was assailed from all sides by criticism and abuse, and this he answered by more *Divorce Tracts*, and by two sonnets, which all who love his poetry would wish to be blotted out from memory.

.

The following account given by Milton (in his *Defensio Secunda*, 1654) of his literary activity after his return from the Continent may prove of use. I have quoted parts of it here and there in my notes. Professor Masson remarks that there is a 'slight anachronism' in Milton's account, and this is true in case we take 'some books' to mean *all* the *Divorce Tracts*. It will be seen by the *Chronological Summary of Milton's Life* that the *Tetrachordon* and the *Colasterion* were written after the *Treatise on Education* and the *Areopagitica*.

'Then pursuing,' says Milton, 'my former route through France I returned to my native country, after an absence of one year and about three months, at the time when Charles, having broken the peace, was renewing what is called the episcopal war with the Scots, in which the Royalists being routed in the first encounter, and the English being universally and justly disaffected, the necessity of his affairs at last obliged him to convene a parliament. As soon as I was able I hired a spacious house in the

city, for myself and my books; where I again, with rapture, resumed my literary pursuits, and while I calmly awaited the issue of the contest, which I trusted to the wise conduct of Providence, and to the courage of the people. The vigour of the Parliament had begun to humble the pride of the bishops. As long as the liberty of speech was no longer subject to control, all mouths began to be opened against the bishops. They said that it was unjust that they alone should differ from the model of other Reformed Churches; that the government of the Church should be according to the pattern of other churches, and particularly the word of God. This awakened all my attention and my zeal. I saw that a way was opening for the establishment of real liberty; that the foundation was laying for the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition; that the principles of religion, which were the first objects of our care, would exert a salutary influence on the manners and constitution of the republic. And as I had from my youth studied the distinctions between religious and civil rights, I perceived that, if ever I wished to be of use, I ought at least not to be wanting to my country, to the Church, and to so many of my fellow-Christians, in a crisis of so much danger. I therefore determined to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged, and to transfer the whole force of my talents and my industry to this one important object. I accordingly wrote two books to a friend concerning the Reformation of the Church of England. Afterwards when two bishops of superior distinction vindicated their privileges against some principal ministers, I thought that on those topics, to the consideration of which I was led solely by

my love of truth and my reverence for Christianity, I should not probably write worse than those who were contending only for their own emoluments and usurpations. I therefore answered the one in two books, of which the first is inscribed *Concerning Prelatical Episcopacy*, and the other *Concerning the Mode of Ecclesiastical Government*; and I replied to the other in some animadversions, and soon after in an apology. On this occasion it was supposed that I brought a timely succour to the ministers, who were hardly a match for the eloquence of their opponents, and from that time I was actively employed in refuting any answers that appeared. When the bishops could no longer resist the multitude of their assailants, I had leisure to turn my thoughts to other subjects; to the promotion of real and substantial liberty, which is rather to be sought from within than from without; and whose existence depends, not so much on the terror of the sword as on sobriety of conduct and integrity of life. When, therefore, I perceived that there were three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life—religious, domestic, and civil; and as I had already written concerning the first, and the magistrates were strenuously active in obtaining the third, I determined to turn my attention to the second, or the domestic species. As they seemed to involve three material questions—the conditions of the conjugal tie, the education of children, and the free publications of the thoughts—I made them objects of distinct consideration. I explained my sentiments, not only concerning the solemnisation of matrimony, but the dissolution, if circumstances rendered it necessary, and I drew my arguments from the divine law, which Christ

did not abolish, or publish another more grievous than that of Moses; for he in vain makes a vaunt of liberty in the senate or in the forum, who languishes under the vilest servitude to an inferior at home. On this subject, therefore, I published some books, which were more particularly necessary at that time, when man and wife were often the most inveterate foes; when the man often staid to take care of his children at home, while the mother of the family was seen in the camp of the enemy, threatening death and destruction to her husband. I then discussed the principles of education in a summary manner, but sufficiently copious for those who attend seriously to the subject, than which nothing can be more necessary to principle the minds of men in virtue, the the only genuine source of political and individual liberty, the only true safeguard of states, the bulwark of their prosperity and renown. Lastly, I wrote my *Areopagitica* after the true Attic style, in order to deliver the press from the restraints with which it was encumbered; that the power of determining what was true and what was false, what ought to be published and what to be suppressed, might no longer be entrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals, who refused their sanction to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of the vulgar superstition.'

II. ITS TITLE.

The word *Areopagitica* is the feminine of *Areopagiticus*, which is the Latin form of the Greek adjective Ἀρεοπαγῆτικός. The feminine word *Oratio* is to be understood, as in the case of the Latin *Philippica*, which means 'a

Philippic oration' (of Demosthenes or Cicero). Thus *Areopagitica* is the Latin equivalent for 'Ἀρεοπαγίτικὸς λόγος' (Areopagitic discourse), which was the title given to one of his unspoken speeches by the Greek orator Isocrates.

Milton gave long Greek names to several other of his prose works—*e.g.* *Tetrachordon*¹ and *Colasterion* (two of his Divorce Tracts), and *Eikonoklastes*—and he adopted the title of the celebrated oration of Isocrates because his own work was, like that of the Greek rhetorician, a discourse (as he calls it) written in order to advance the public good by one who in a private condition wanted such access as might have enabled him to direct a spoken oration to 'States and Governors of the Commonwealth.'

III. THE AREOPAGITIC ORATION OF ISOCRATES.

The object which both Milton and Isocrates had in view was Liberty, and if the means that they proposed for the attainment of this object are strikingly different, it is due to the difference of circumstances. Milton, as we have seen, was beginning to be painfully aware of a new tyranny developing itself under the external forms of that new Democracy to which he had looked for civil and religious liberty. His protest was directed against the misuse of new authority—against what he considered offensive and useless control—whereas Isocrates, foreseeing the danger that threatened

¹ See the Sonnet beginning, 'A book was writ of late called *Tetrachordon*,' where he describes the perplexity of the 'stall-reader' at the title.

Athens from the growing power of Macedon, appealed to his government to strengthen their hands by the re-establishment of the old Democracy and the old authority of the Court of the Areopagus.

Isocrates (436-338 B.C.) was a celebrated Athenian rhetorician. Among his teachers was Socrates, who (as we learn from Plato's *Phaedrus*) held his talents in high esteem, and foretold that he would make all his competitors in the art seem mere children. Probably on account of physical defects, or natural timidity, which he had not the strength of mind (as Demosthenes—his junior by about fifty years) to conquer, he did not come forward as a public speaker, but he composed many *Δόγοι*, i.e. Discourses, or Orations, which gained him great reputation. Of these twenty-one are extant. Among them are the *Areopagitica*, and the still more famous *Panegyric Oration*, in which he extols Athens for the services which she had rendered to Greece in every period of her history.

Like the celebrated *Philippics* of Demosthenes, many of the later Orations of Isocrates were directed against the encroachments of King Philip of Macedonia. Isocrates seems to have been intensely patriotic, and when, after both he and Demosthenes had failed in their attempt to arouse Greece to a full sense of her danger, Philip crushed the Athenians and Thebans at Chaeronea, in 338 B.C., the 'old man eloquent' put an end to his life, it is said by starvation. (Some sixteen years later Demosthenes also, having survived the triumphs and death of Alexander, put an end to his life by poison.)

The fate of Isocrates is mentioned by Milton in the following lines of his Sonnet to the Lady Margaret

Lee. Her father, Earl of Marlborough, is said to have died broken-hearted in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament in 1628 by Charles I., and Milton compares his death with that of the Greek orator :

‘ Daughter to that good Earl, once President
Of England’s Council, and her Treasury,
Who lived in both unstained with gold or fee,
And left them both, more in himself content,
Till the sad breaking of that Parliament
Broke him, as that dishonest victory
At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,
Killed with report that old man eloquent.’

The Areopagitic Oration of Isocrates was written, as we are told by an anonymous Greek commentator, ‘at the beginning of the Philippic times.’ Isocrates (b. 436) was at this time already an old man, for Philip of Macedon (father of Alexander the Great) seized the throne in 359 B.C., and began to excite the alarm of Greece soon afterwards. (It was at this period that Demosthenes came forward with his famous Philippic orations.)

Perhaps then we may regard the date of the *Ἀρεοπαγίτικὸς λόγος* as about 355 B.C., at a time when Philip had already seized the Greek cities (Amphipolis, Potidaea, Olynthus, and others) on the Macedonian coast, but before he had actually entered Greece and subdued the Phocians (in 346 B.C.).

The oration was addressed to the Council (Βουλή). Its main theme is the same as that of the Philippics of Demosthenes—the danger that threatened Athens from the increasing power and the audacious encroachments of King Philip; and the only efficient means for averting this danger he held to be the re-establishment of the

old Democracy, which, in comparison with the new Democracy, was really a limited Aristocracy. 'I find,' he says, 'that the only way by which we may avert the dangers that threaten us and rid ourselves of our present evils is this—to decide to recall that Democracy which Solon constituted, and which Cleisthenes re-established when he expelled the tyrants (the Peisistratidae).' But he especially urges the revival of the supreme authority of the ancient Court of the Areopagus.

IV. THE COURT OF THE AREOPAGUS.

The Court of the Hill of Ares (Lat. Mars) was of great antiquity. According to the old legend, adopted by the Greek dramatists, it was by the verdict of this divinely instituted Court that Orestes (say about 1177 B.C.) was acquitted when, chased by the Furies for having slain his mother Clytaemnestra, he sought sanctuary in the temple of Athena (Minerva) at Athens. The Court held its assemblies on the "Ἀρειος πάγος (Hill of Ares), one of the lesser eminences which lie around the rock of the Athenian Acropolis.

The Areopagus was composed of past Archons (the nine supreme annual magistrates of Athens) and fifty-one other members (ἐφέται). It was called 'the Upper Council,' in distinction from the Boulé (Senate) of 400 instituted by Solon (about 600 B.C.), and the Ecclesia, or Popular Assembly.

It was originally a court of justice, and was empowered to interfere in matters of religion and morals, and also in the administration of public affairs. But in the time of Pericles, when old forms were succumbing to

the new Democracy, the Areopagus lost many of its functions in consequence of a measure proposed (461 B.C.) by Ephialtes, a friend of Pericles. Its power of influencing political affairs was withdrawn (this is what Isocrates wished to restore), and it was only allowed to retain authority¹ in what were considered comparatively trivial matters, such as ritual and doctrinal questions, elections of gymnastic teachers, public pleasure-grounds, weights and measures, etc. Down to the age of Augustus the Athenian Areopagus seems to have retained the influence and social position which Ephialtes left it. By the time of Plutarch (say about 50 A.D.) it was no longer composed of retiring Archons, and probably had thus lost its status.

But it is not only for the lover of Greek literature that the Court of the Areopagus has an interest. Some twelve centuries after the supposed era of Orestes it was still existing at Athens when that city was visited by St. Paul. In their longing for something novel in the way of philosophy or religion, certain Athenians—dabblers in Epicureanism, Stoicism, and the like—hearing that St. Paul has been proclaiming ‘foreign deities,’ lay hands on him and bring him to the Hill of Ares—opposite the Acropolis—and beg him to hold a discourse on the subject, in the same way as some eminent Buddhist might now-a-days be invited to illuminate a Christian audience in St. James’ Hall.

¹ The institution of paid juries (*dicasteries*) at this time was a fatal blow to the juridical authority of the Areopagus. In his *Eumenides* (458 B.C.) Aeschylus, a lover of the good old times, exerted all his powers to support the Areopagus, but was only rewarded by (probably) having to fly from Athens. Ephialtes was assassinated by the Conservative party.

And perhaps—*pro formâ*—St. Paul was actually arraigned before the Areopagus; for that not only the Hill of Ares was then still existing, but also the Court of the Hill of Ares, seems to be proved by the fact that among those Athenians who ‘clave’ to Paul and became Christians is mentioned ‘Dionysius the Areopagite’ (*Acts*, xvii. 34). He was, most probably, a member of the Court of the Areopagus, and it is likely that, as such, he was a man of high rank or influence. Whether the Court still retained its ancient judicial authority is not known; possibly it had become a time-honoured but no longer operative institution, something like our House of Lords, and took a kind of dilettante interest in antiquated questions of ritual, heresy, and the like.

Dionysius the Areopagite is said to have become the first Bishop of Athens, and, according to an incredible legend, he afterwards held the first Bishopric of Paris, and is identical with St. Denis.

V. THE SUBJECT OF MILTON’S ‘AREOPAGITICA.’

In his *Defensio Secunda* (his second ‘Defence of the English People’ against those who regarded Charles as a martyr), written just ten years after the *Areopagitica*, Milton gives, as we have already seen, a sketch of his literary labours in defence of Liberty. After mentioning, and to some extent describing, the prose works which he published soon after his return from the Continent, such as his Tracts on Prelacy, on Church Government, on Divorce, and on Education, he says: ‘Lastly, I wrote my *Areopagitica* after the true Attic style, in order to deliver the press from the restraints with which it was

encumbered ; that the power of determining what was true and what was false, what ought to be published and what to be suppressed, might no longer be entrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals, who refused their sanction to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of the vulgar superstition.'

The immediate cause of Milton's *Areopagitica* was 'an Order of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for the regulating of printing, and for suppressing the great late abuses and frequent disorders in printing many false, scandalous, seditious, libellous, and unlicensed pamphlets, to the great defamation of Religion and Government.' The mandate was issued on June 14th, 1643. It forbade the publication or reprinting or importation of any book without a licence, and instituted official search for unlicensed Presses.

This Order of the Long Parliament, of ill-omen for the cause of liberty, must have fallen like a thunder-bolt from the blue ; for one of the most applauded of this Parliament's doings during the first year of its existence had been to abolish (July, 1641) the notorious 'Star-Chamber,' which was dominated by Church influence.¹ Like the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Spain, and Papal delegates in Germany and Italy, the Star-Chamber in England had undertaken, especially during the era of Archbishop Laud, to act as censor of the press. In 1637 it had promulgated a severe Edict² of thirty-three

¹ What in his *Reason of Church Government* (1641) Milton calls 'the impertinent yoke of prelaty, under whose inquisitorial and tyrannical duncery no free and splendid wit can flourish.'

² This Edict is given in full in Arber's reprint of the *Areopagitica*.

clauses—scarce to be outdone by any Papal Bull in support of the Index—forbidding all unlicensed printing, and nominating twenty Master-printers, to whom alone was permitted the use of the press.

This monstrous Edict—abolished by Parliament in 1641—was now virtually re-enacted by the same Parliament. No wonder that not only Milton, but many other ‘learned men,’ as he states in his oration, were discontented and filled with anxiety as to the future. No wonder that such men, when Milton disclosed himself a companion of their discontent, knowing how powerfully he could champion a cause by his writing, loaded him with entreaties and persuasions that he ‘would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into his mind toward the removal of an undeserved thralldom upon learning.’

The fact that Milton had also personal motives for thus acting—that his enthusiasm for liberty of printing was first aroused by a very natural desire to defend and justify himself against certain assailants—has been discussed in great detail by Professor Masson, the main gist of whose long story is as follows :

Milton’s first Divorce Tract happened to be nearly or quite ready for the press just as the Ordinance against unlicensed printing came into operation (June, 1643). He evidently considered it very doubtful whether the Tract would be sanctioned by any of the twelve reverend gentlemen who had been appointed Licensers in Theology and Ethics. Perhaps, too, he preferred to go without such sanction. Anyhow, he published the Tract unlicensed and unregistered ; and, when another edition was called for in February of 1644, it too appeared

without licence or registration. In June and July he published his *Treatise on Education*, and a second *Divorce Tract*, both of which were duly licensed and registered.

It is a little remarkable that this second *Divorce Tract* was sanctioned, for the first had by this time excited much indignation and abuse; and it seems more than probable that certain of the Westminster Assembly divines, and others of like mind, who were bitterly opposed to Milton's views, were the real wire-pullers in the action taken by the Stationers' Company. This Company, in August, 1644,¹ petitioned the Commons *re* Milton's unlicensed *Divorce Tract*, shortly after a violent sermon on the subject had been preached before the two houses of Parliament. The Commons referred the matter to a Committee, which (perhaps in consideration of Milton's services in the matter of Prelacy, etc.), seems to have let the thing drop.

'Released from all trouble by the Committee of the Commons,' says Professor Masson, 'and left at leisure in Aldersgate Street through September, October, and November, 1644, what was Milton doing? Preparing his *Areopagitica*. It appeared on November 24th, a month after the second battle of Newbury, and the very day before that outbreak by Cromwell against the Earl of Manchester for slackness in the battle which led to the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Modelling of the army. It was a small quarto of 40 pages. . . . There was no printer's or bookseller's name to the pamphlet, and it came forth unlicensed and unregistered.

¹ In the edition by Professor Hales (p. xxiv) this is given as 1664—an evident misprint.

It would have been indeed absurd to ask one of the censors to license a pamphlet cutting up the whole system of censorship. Still, here was another deliberate breach of the law by Milton. It was probably to soften and veil the offence that the pamphlet was cast into the form of a continuous speech, or pleading, by Milton to Parliament directly, without recognition of the public in préface or epilogue.'

Towards the end of the *Areopagitica* Milton makes a open attack on the booksellers, accusing them of being the real instigators of the new Order. The attack seems to have excited them a second time to make reprisals; for only five weeks after the publication of the Discourse they again prosecuted Milton before Parliament.

Milton's learned and impassioned defence of the liberty of the press had apparently no direct effect—though it doubtless exerted an influence which contributed to the final triumph of the cause which it advocated.

The Order of 1643 was re-enacted, or reinforced, at various intervals during the Commonwealth¹ and Protectorate (though under the Independents it seems to have been for some time in abeyance), and at the Restoration, as was natural, the old inquisitorial censorship flourished anew as in the days of the Star Chamber. In 1662 the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Judges, and

¹ It is a remarkable and altogether incomprehensible fact—for a fact it seems to be—that in the year 1651, when 'Secretary for foreign tongues' to the Council of the Commonwealth, Milton actually 'held the office of censor, or press licenser, in connexion with the weekly paper, *Mercurius Politicus*.' Professor Masson says he was rather 'official supervisor' than 'licenser.' This seems a distinction without much difference.

other officials, were entrusted with the censorship of various kinds of literature, and a Licenser was appointed.

It was during this period (*i.e.* in 1667) that Milton—some of whose works had been burned by the hangman at the Restoration, and who had been obliged for some time to seek safety in concealment—experienced that which in the *Areopagitica* he calls ‘the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit.’ His *Paradise Lost* had been submitted to the approval of the Licenser—a chaplain of Archbishop Sheldon—and this gentleman, who rejoiced in the name of Thomas Tomkyns, lighting on the lines (i. 594 *seq.*) where a solar eclipse is said to perplex monarchs with the fear of change, purposed the suppression of the whole poem. Why it was that this purpose was not carried out is not known. Perhaps the long dreary epic of the old blind ‘Secretary for foreign tongues’ to the defunct Commonwealth seemed to the Archiepiscopal chaplain a matter of but little importance. Apparently not even excision of the obnoxious passage was required; but about two years later, when publishing his *History of Britain*, Milton was, it is said, actually obliged by the Licenser to expunge various passages.

The Act of 1662 remained in force for about twenty-five years. In 1681 it was revived, and survived till 1692, when it was re-enacted for two years.

When this period came to an end, in 1694, the Act was allowed to expire, in spite of some half-hearted attempts on the part of the Upper House to continue it. Finding that the Commons were resolved, ‘the Lords,’ says Macaulay, ‘yielded without a contest. They pro-

bably expected that some less objectionable Bill for the regulation of the press would soon be sent up to them, and in fact such a Bill was brought into the House of Commons and read twice, and referred to a Select Committee. But the Session closed before the Committee had reported, and English literature was emancipated, and emancipated for ever, from the control of the Government.'

But the full liberty of the press, as we enjoy it now-a-days, was not gained until seventy-seven years later. Various Acts were still in force forbidding the publication of the debates in Parliament when Dr. Johnson, in 1738, began to contribute to the *Gentleman's Magazine* his celebrated 'Reports of the Debates of the Senate of Lilliput,' in which, to evade the law, the form of the speeches was to some extent altered, and they were published under feigned names. In spite of resolutions passed by the Commons denouncing all reports of Parliamentary debates as 'a high indignity and a notorious breach of privilege,' the general contents of the more important speeches somehow became known to Johnson, and his fabricated reports were received with acclamation as better than the originals. The struggle between the Parliament and the public was brought to a crisis when John Wilkes, in 1764, denounced, in his *North Briton*, a minister of state by name. He was imprisoned, and, although he regained his liberty by claiming a writ of *habeas corpus*, he had to flee the country, and was expelled from Parliament. But the stone thus set rolling was not to be stopped. After vainly imprisoning the Lord Mayor, and failing in the prosecution of 'Junius,' the Parliament desisted (1771) from further

action. The great English newspapers date from this period. The liberty of the press in England now allows all reasonable criticism, not only of Parliament, but even of the Sovereign.

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Perhaps I cannot better end this section of my Introduction than by quoting some remarks by Dr. Johnson on the main topic of the *Areopagitica*. As usual, what he says contains much robust common-sense, though we may not be able to accept his conclusions.

‘About the same time,’ he says, ‘Milton published his *Areopagitica*, a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing. The danger of such unbounded liberty, and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem in the science of government, which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve. If nothing may be published but what civil authority shall have previously approved, power must always be the standard of truth ; if every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement ; if every murmurer at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace ; and if every sceptic in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The remedy against these evils is to punish the authors ; for it is yet allowed that every society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of opinions which that society shall think pernicious ; but this punishment, though it may crush the author, promotes the book ; and it seems not more reasonable to leave the right of printing unrestrained, because writers may be afterwards censured, than it would be to sleep with doors unbolted, because by our laws we can hang a thief.’

VI. MILTON'S PROSE.

In his English prose writings Milton doubtless endeavoured to express himself quite as clearly as in his poetry, and perhaps to the highly-educated reader of his age his prose was easily intelligible. But when one turns to the great and popular writers of English prose who preceded him, or were his contemporaries—such as Ascham, Lyly, Sidney, Bacon, Hooker, and not a few others—one finds, as one finds in the Bible, that in spite of archaic words and constructions, the thought is generally expressed in such a way that we can follow it without difficulty. It is therefore, I think, more than probable that those who took a delight in such prose as that of Ascham and Bacon would have found Milton's prose difficult reading.

However that may be, the fact that for the modern reader Milton's prose is, on the whole, far less easy to follow than his poetry will hardly be questioned. To test this fact, it is only necessary to read to a fairly intelligent and fairly educated person, or to ask such a person to read, any page of the *Paradise Lost* and any page of the *Areopagitica*. In both passages there may be obscure allusions, and possibly unusual constructions and words, but it will be generally found, if I may draw a general conclusion from my own experiences, that in the case of the poetry the thought has been easily and continuously followed, whereas in the case of the prose, although the thought may have been far simpler, the sequence has been again and again lost, and the mind has been worried and vexed by futile efforts to regain the clue.

The following passages are probably too brief to afford a quite satisfactory test ; but they will show what I mean :

‘ Of man’s first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us and regain the blissful seat,
Sing, heavenly Muse, that on the secret top
Of Oreb or of Sinai didst inspire
That shepherd who first taught the chosen seed
In the beginning how the heavens and earth
Rose out of chaos.’

This is a very long and richly-constructed sentence, and it contains many different thoughts—but one follows it all with ease and without the slightest let or hindrance. Now let us try a prose sentence—not really a bit more complex, nor containing anything but quite ordinary thoughts :

‘ And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I entered, may have at other times variously affected ; and likely might in these foremost expressions now also disclose which of them swayed most, but that the very attempt of this address thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion far more welcome than incidental to a preface. Which though I stay not to confess ere any ask, I shall be blameless, if it be no other than the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their country’s liberty.’

A very clever person might perhaps follow this to the end without a break, especially if it were read aloud by someone who had already mastered it ; but an ordinary ‘ mortal thing ’—to use a Miltonic expression—will, I think, be almost certain to trip, and will very probably

come a cropper and give up the race before reaching the tape.

Let us take another bit of Miltonic prose—this time from his *Reason of Church Government*, Book ii. :

‘Although it nothing content me to have disclosed thus much beforehand, but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies, to come into the dim reflection of hollow antiquities, sold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whose learning and belief lies in marginal stuffings, who, when they have, like good sumpters, laid ye down their horse-loads of citations and fathers at your door, with a rhapsody of who and who were bishops here or there, ye may take off their pack-saddles, their day’s work is done, and episcopacy, as they think, stoutly vindicated.’

While labouring through this long sentence one may perhaps not lose consciousness of its general drift, but one very soon loses foothold and surrenders oneself helplessly to the stream of words. I suppose that if one were to take the trouble to anatomize the sentence, as a schoolboy is taught to anatomize some long sentence in Cicero or Thucydides, one would discover something vertebrate ; but whatever construction may be discoverable fails in the object for which construction exists ; it fails to present the thought clearly or impressively, though it may succeed in giving one the consciousness of something glorious behind the veil of words.

‘He that will write well in any tongue,’ says Roger Ascham, ‘must follow this counsel of Aristotle : to speak as the common people do, and to think as wise men do ;

and so should every man understand him and the judgment of wise men allow him.'

Perhaps we may not be able to allow that the best prose is the speech of the common people, any more than that (as Wordsworth asserted) the language of poetry should be the 'simple phrase' of ordinary conversation; but no one will deny that two essentials of a great writer are that he should have something worth saying, and should say it clearly, or impressively.

Now Milton most certainly thought 'as wise men do,' and to arrive at his thoughts is worth almost any labour; but when writing prose he did not as a rule present his thoughts clearly, nor always impressively. There are passages in his prose writings which are of unsurpassed splendour and power; passages which in a moment impress themselves indelibly on the memory. But much of what he said in prose is at first sight not easily understood, and, when deciphered, it is not easily retained by the mind, although the nobility of the sentiment may impress itself on the heart.

To anyone fairly conversant with Greek and Latin the great ancient prose-writers offer no such difficulties as the English reader finds in Milton's prose. In Plato one may be at times checked by some abstruse philosophical conception, but it is scarcely ever necessary to hark back and re-read a sentence.¹ Reading Herodotus is like wafting gently and steadily over a smooth blue

¹ I do not include Aristotle, for, although some of his works (*e.g.* 'On the Soul') are admirably lucid—when one has mastered his technical phraseology—it is not unlikely that much of what passes as his writing is merely a somewhat amplified abstract of lectures jotted down by some disciple.

sea, with now and then a slight pressure of the hand on the tiller. Demosthenes, Plutarch, Livy, Cicero—all are specially characterized by directness and lucidity; while Tacitus, whose extraordinary conciseness may sometimes give one pause, puts what he has to say in a form that impresses itself on one's memory as a clear-cut seal.

The only one of the ancient masters (I mention them specially because Milton accepted them as his models) in whose writings we find something of the same nature as Milton's prose is Thucydides. The narrative of Thucydides is as lucid and direct as that of Livy, but the (fabricated) speeches that occur in his *History* have a rather striking resemblance to the *Areopagitica* and other of Milton's works, in regard at least to form of expression. It was, I think, rather of Thucydides than of Isocrates that Milton was thinking when he said that he wrote his *Areopagitica* 'after the true Attic style.' Whether this be so or not, there is little or no resemblance between the clear, polished, rhetorical, antithetical style of Isocrates and the style of Milton's unspoken Discourse, while there is an undeniable resemblance between the style of this Discourse and that of some of the Orations in Thucydides.¹

The question why Milton—one of the foremost of poets—should have been, as he admits, 'inferior to himself' as a prose-writer, is not easily answered. This fact—which no one can deny, in spite of the greatness of the thoughts and the occasional splendour and power of language in these prose writings—is sometimes said to be due to Milton's imitation of Greek and Latin

¹ Of course in its external form the *Areopagitica* resembles the *Λόγος* of Isocrates. I am here speaking of style.

idioms and constructions. This is no sufficient explanation. These classicisms occur quite as frequently in Milton's poetry, and are by no means the main source of the obscurity of his prose. Again, it has been said¹ that for such a genius, 'so quick and fertile by nature, so splendidly enriched by long and eager study, metre was absolutely necessary, not only as its natural form, but for the very restraints that it imposed.' But Dante, whose genius was all that is here described, and still more impetuous, and who in his poetry subjected himself to what he calls a 'curb of art' far more severe than the restraints of blank verse, wrote prose of rare beauty and of perfect lucidity. And who has written finer prose than Shakespeare? Or what can be clearer and more direct than Shelley's prose?

I think we must content ourselves with noting the fact that under the influence of poetic imagination—'empyreal conceit' as he calls it—Milton's thoughts seem to have arranged themselves into an order which makes his poetry clear and impressive to us, while the absence of this ordering influence when composing in what he calls his 'pedestrian manner,' and 'sitting here below in the cool element of prose,' makes it often a tiresome task to follow his thoughts, where we are constantly obliged to retrace our steps in order to discover the lost path amid the tangled overgrowth.

In the second book of his *Reason of Church Government*, where (as we have seen) Milton states the motives that induced him to abandon for a time his cherished hope of poetic fame, and to 'embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes,' he tells us plainly that verse and

¹ By Professor Hales.

not prose was the mode of expression natural to him. In reference to his prose writings he says, 'I should not choose this manner of writing, wherein, knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account, but of my left hand.'

The period between the publication of *Samson Agonistes* and the rise of the new poetry of Nature (roughly speaking from 1671 to 1785, when Cowper's *Task* appeared) was a period in which very little true poetry was written in England, but in which a great work was effected in regard to English prose. Of all the eminent prose writers of that period—among whom we may reckon Dryden, Bunyan, Locke, Clarendon, Addison, Johnson, Hume, Gibbon, Richardson, and not a few others—there is not one who is comparable with Milton in regard to nobility and sublimity of thought, nor can be found in the works of these writers any passages of such splendour and power as some that occur in Milton's prose works; but what they had to say—which in some cases was of comparatively little value—they said distinctly, and in this point at least they resemble, while Milton does not resemble, the greatest masters of the art of prose composition.¹

The following *dicta* by three well-known critics may prove useful, for the contrariety of the sentiments may

¹ The student would do well to analyse a few paragraphs of Milton's prose, and of some such work as *Rasselas*, or the *Spectator*, or the *Decline and Fall*, or of Macaulay's or Matthew Arnold's *Essays*. The stratification of the later prose—so different from the conglomerate of the Miltonic period—will thus become plainly visible.

induce the student to pay further attention to the original in order to form his own opinion :

‘Milton’s Prose Works,’ says Mr. Stopford Brooke, ‘as a whole, are not readable. They are controversial; the interest of most of their controversies is past, and they have all the vices of controversy. They descend to brutalities of personal abuse and recrimination; they are full of the miseries of debate. . . . We step from passages full of stately thought and splendid diction into passages which we are almost ashamed to read. . . .¹ But there is another side. They have, throughout, intellectual force and the ease that comes of it. At times they rise into an eloquence which has nothing like it in English literature for grandeur, music, and splendour.’

Matthew Arnold speaks of the ‘glow and mighty eloquence’ of Milton’s prose; but he adds: ‘Grand thoughts and beautiful language do not form the staple of Milton’s controversial treatises, though they occur in them not infrequently. . . . For the mass of his prose writings *miserable discussions* is the final and right word.’

‘It is to be regretted,’ says Macaulay in his youthful essay on Milton, ‘that the prose writings of Milton should be so little read. As compositions, they deserve the attention of every man who wishes to become acquainted with the full power of the English language. They abound in passages compared with which the finest declamations of Burke sink into insignificance.

¹ This is doubtless true in regard to his diatribes against Salmasius and other of his political Tractates, but does not apply to the *Areopagitica*. When speaking of Milton’s controversial writings, Dr. Johnson says: ‘Such is his malignity that hell grows darker at his frown.’

They are a perfect field of cloth of gold. The style is stiff with gorgeous embroidery. Not even in the earlier books of the *Paradise Lost* has the great poet ever risen higher than in those parts of his controversial works in which his feelings, excited by conflict, find a vent in bursts of devotional and lyric rapture.'

AREOPAGITICA.

FOR THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING.

THEY who to states and governors of the Commonwealth direct their speech, High Court of Parliament, or, wanting such access in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the public good, I suppose them, as at the beginning of no mean endeavour, not a little altered and moved inwardly in their minds: some with doubt of what will be the success, others with fear of what will be the censure; some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speak. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I entered, may 10 have at other times variously affected; and likely might in these foremost expressions now also disclose which of them swayed most, but that the very attempt of this address thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion far more welcome than incidental to a preface. Which though I stay not to confess ere any ask, I shall be blameless, if it be no other than the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their country's liberty; where- of this whole discourse proposed will be a certain testimony, 20 if not a trophy. For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the Commonwealth; that let no man in this world expect; but when

complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained that wise men look for. To which if I now manifest by the very sound of this which I shall utter that we are already in good part arrived, and yet from such a steep disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery, it will be attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God our deliverer, next to your faithful guidance
10 and undaunted wisdom, Lords and Commons of England. Neither is it in God's esteem the diminution of His glory, when honourable things are spoken of good men and worthy magistrates ; which if I now first should begin to do, after so fair a progress of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligation upon the whole realm to your indefatigable virtues, I might be justly reckoned among the tardiest and the unwillingest of them that praise ye. Nevertheless there being three principal things without which all praising is but courtship and flattery, First, when that only
20 is praised which is solidly worth praise : next, when greatest likelihoods are brought that such things are truly and really in those persons to whom they are ascribed : the other, when he who praises, by showing that such his actual persuasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not ; the former two of these I have heretofore endeavoured, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impair your merits with a trivial and malignant encomium ; the latter, as belonging chiefly to mine own acquittal, that whom I so extolled I did
30 not flatter, hath been reserved opportunely to this occasion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the best covenant of his fidelity, and that his loyalest affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kind of praising ; for though I should affirm and hold

by argument, that it would fare better with truth, with learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your published Orders, which I should name, were called in, yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your mild and equal government, whenas private persons are hereby animated to think ye better pleased with public advice, than other statists have been delighted heretofore with public flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennial Parliament, and that jealous haughtiness of 10 prelates and Cabin Counsellors that usurped of late, when as they shall observe ye in the midst of your victories and successes more gently brooking written exceptions against a voted Order than other Courts, which had produced nothing worth memory but the weak ostentation of wealth, would have endured the least signified dislike at any sudden Proclamation. If I should thus far presume upon the meek demeanour of your civil and gentle greatness, Lords and Commons, as what your published Order hath directly said, that to gainsay, I might defend myself with 20 ease, if any should accuse me of being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece than the barbaric pride of a Hunnish and Norwegian stateliness. And out of those ages to whose polite wisdom and letters we owe that we are not yet Goths and Jutlanders I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the Parliament of Athens, that persuades them to change the form of democracy which was then established. Such honour was done in those days to men who professed the 30 study of wisdom and eloquence, not only in their own country, but in other lands, that cities and signiories heard them gladly and with great respect, if they had aught in public to admonish the state. Thus did Dion Prusæus, a stranger and a private orator, counsel the Rhodians against a former edict : and I abound with other

like examples, which to set here would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those natural endowments haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, so much must be derogated as to count me not equal to any of those who had this privilege, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior as yourselves are superior to the most of them who received their counsel: and how far you excel them, be assured, Lords and Commons, there
10 can no greater testimony appear, than when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeys the voice of reason from what quarter soever it be heard speaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own setting forth as any set forth by your predecessors.

If ye be thus resolved, as it were injury to think ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to show both that love of truth which ye eminently profess, and that uprightness of your judgment which is not wont to be partial to your-
20 selves, by judging over again that Order which ye have ordained to regulate Printing: That no book, pamphlet, or paper shall be henceforth printed, unless the same be first approved and licensed by such, or at least one of such, as shall be thereto appointed. For that part which preserves justly every man's copy to himself, or provides for the poor, I touch not, only wish they be not made pretences to abuse and persecute honest and painful men who offend not in either of these particulars. But that other clause of Licensing Books, which we thought had died with his
30 brother quadragesimal and matrimonial when the prelates expired, I shall now attend with such a homily as shall lay before ye, first, the inventors of it to be those whom ye will be loth to own; next, what is to be thought in general of reading, whatever sort the books be; and that this Order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous books, which were mainly intended

to be suppressed; last, that it will be primely to the discouragement of all learning, and the stop of Truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindering and cropping the discovery that might be yet further made both in religious and civil Wisdom.

I deny not but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice 10 on them as malefactors: for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon's teeth; and, being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book; who kills a man 20 kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against 30 the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom, and, if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at that

ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself ; slays an immortality rather than a life. But lest I should be condemned of introducing licence, while I oppose licensing, I refuse not the pains to be so much historical as will serve to show what hath been done by ancient and famous commonwealths against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licensing crept out of the Inquisition, was caught up by our prelates, and hath caught some of our presbyters.

- 10 In Athens, where books and wits were ever busier than in any other part of Greece, I find but only two sorts of writings which the magistrate cared to take notice of : those either blasphemous and atheistical, or libellous. Thus the books of Protagoras were by the judges of Areopagus commanded to be burnt, and himself banished the territory, for a discourse begun with his confessing not to know *whether there were gods, or whether not*. And against defaming, it was decreed that none should be tra-
 20 duced by name, as was the manner of *Vetus Comœdia*, whereby we may guess how they censured libelling. And this course was quick enough, as Cicero writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event showed. Of other sects and opinions, though tending to voluptuousness and the deny-
 30 ing of Divine Providence, they took no heed. Therefore we do not read that either Epicurus, or that libertine school of Cyrene, or what the Cynic impudence uttered, was ever questioned by the laws. Neither is it recorded that the writings of those old comedians were suppressed, though the acting of them were forbid ; and that Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes, the loosest of them all, to his royal scholar Dionysius, is commonly known, and may be excused, if holy Chrysostom, as is reported, nightly studied so much the same author and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the style of a rousing sermon. That other leading city of Greece, Lacedæmon,

considering that Lycurgus their lawgiver was so addicted to elegant learning as to have been the first that brought out of Ionia the scattered works of Homer, and sent the poet Thales from Crete to prepare and mollify the Spartan surliness with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility, it is to be wondered how museless and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of war. There needed no licensing of books among them, for they disliked all but their own laconic apothegms, and took a slight occasion to chase Archilochus 10 out of their city, perhaps for composing in a higher strain than their own soldierly ballads and roundels could reach to ; Or if it were for his broad verses, they were not therein so cautious but they were as dissolute in their promiscuous conversing ; whence Euripides affirms in *Andromache* that their women were all unchaste. Thus much may give us light after what sort books were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also, for many ages trained up only to a military roughness, resembling most of the Lacedæmonian guise, knew of learning little but what their twelve Tables 20 and the Pontific College with their augurs and flamens taught them in religion and law, so unacquainted with other learning that when Carneades and Critolaus with the Stoic Diogenes, coming ambassadors to Rome, took thereby occasion to give the city a taste of their philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by no less a man than Cato the Censor, who moved it in the Senate to dismiss them speedily, and to banish all such Attic babblers out of Italy. But Scipio and others of the noblest senators withstood him and his old Sabine austerity ; honoured and 30 admired the men ; and the censor himself at last in his old age fell to the study of that whereof before he was so scrupulous. And yet at the same time Nævius and Plautus the first Latin comedians had filled the city with all the borrowed scenes of Menander and Philemon. Then began to be considered there also what was to be done

to libellous books and authors; for Nævius was quickly cast into prison for his unbridled pen, and released by the tribunes upon his recantation; we read also that libels were burnt, and the makers punished by Augustus. The like severity no doubt was used if aught were impiously written against their esteemed gods. Except in these two points, how the world went in books, the magistrate kept no reckoning. And therefore Lucretius without impeachment versifies his Epicurism to Memmius, 10 and had the honour to be set forth the second time by Cicero, so great a father of the commonwealth; although himself disputes against that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the satirical sharpness, or naked plainness of Lucilius, or Catullus, or Flaccus, by any order prohibited. And for matters of state, the story of Titus Livius, though it extolled that part which Pompey held, was not therefore suppressed by Octavius Cæsar of the other faction. But that Naso was by him banished in his old age for the wanton poems of his youth, was but a mere covert of 20 state over some secret cause; and besides, the books were neither banished nor called in. From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman empire, that we may not marvel if not so often bad as good books were silenced. I shall therefore deem to have been large enough in producing what among the ancients was punishable to write, save only which all other arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the emperors were become Christians, whose discipline in this point I do not find to have been 30 more severe than what was formerly in practice. The books of those whom they took to be grand heretics were examined, refuted, and condemned in the general Councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by authority of the emperor. As for the writings of heathen authors, unless they were plain invectives against Christianity, as those of Porphyrius and Proclus, they met with no

interdict that can be cited, till about the year 400 in a Carthaginian Council, wherein bishops themselves were forbid to read the books of Gentiles, but heresies they might read : while others long before them on the contrary scrupled more the books of heretics than of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councils and Bishops were wont only to declare what books were not commendable, passing no further, but leaving it to each one's conscience to read or to lay by, till after the year 800, is observed already by Padre Paolo the great unmasker of the Trentine Council. 10 After which time the Popes of Rome, engrossing what they pleased of political rule into their own hands, extended their dominion over men's eyes, as they had before over their judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fancied not ; yet sparing in their censures, and the books not many which they so dealt with ; till Martin the V. by his bull not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of heretical books ; for about that time Wickliffe and Huss growing terrible were they who first drove the Papal Court to a stricter 20 policy of prohibiting. Which course Leo the X. and his successors followed, until the Council of Trent and the Spanish Inquisition engendering together brought forth or perfected those Catalogues and expurging indexes that rake through the entrails of many an old good author with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb. Nor did they stay in matters heretical, but any subject that was not to their palate they either condemned in a Prohibition, or had it straight into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, their 30 last invention was to ordain that no book, pamphlet, or paper should be printed (as if St. Peter had bequeathed them the keys of the press also out of Paradise) unless it were approved and licensed under the hands of two or three glutton friars. For example :

Let the Chancellor Cini be pleased to see if in this

present work be contained aught that may withstand the printing,

Vincent Rabatta, Vicar of Florence.

I have seen this present work, and find nothing athwart the Catholic faith and good manners; in witness whereof I have given, &c.

Nicolò Cini, Chancellor of Florence.

Attending the precedent relation, it is allowed that this present work of Davanzati may be printed,

10 Vincent Rabatta, &c.

It may be printed, July 15.

Friar Simon Mompei d'Amelia Chancellor of the holy office in Florence.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomless pit had not long since broke prison, that this quadruple exorcism would bar him down. I fear their next design will be to get into their custody the licensing of that which they say Claudius intended, but went not through with. Vouchsafe to see another of their forms the Roman stamp :

20 Imprimatur, If it seem good to the reverend master of the holy Palace, Belcastro, Viceregent.

Imprimatur, Friar Nicolò Rodolphi, Master of the holy Palace.

Sometimes five Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue-wise in the piazza of one title-page, complimenting and ducking each to other with their shaven reverences, whether the author who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to the press or to the sponge. These are the pretty responsories, these are the dear
30 antiphonies that so bewitched of late our Prelates and their chaplains with the goodly echo they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly Imprimatur, one from Lambeth House, another from the west end of Paul's; so apishly Romanising that the word of command still was set down in Latin; as if the learned grammatical

pen that wrote it, would cast no ink without Latin ; or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to express the pure conceit of an Imprimatur ; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enough to spell such a dictatory presumption English. And thus ye have the inventors and the original of book-licensing ripped up, and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient state, or polity, or 10 church, nor by any statute left us by our ancestors, elder or later ; nor from the modern custom of any reformed city, or church abroad ; but from the most anti-christian council, and the most tyrannous inquisition that ever inquired. Till then books were ever as freely admitted into the world as any other birth ; the issue of the brain was no more stifled than the issue of the womb ; no envious Juno sat cross-legged over the nativity of any man's intellectual offspring ; but if it proved a monster, who denies but that it was justly burnt, or sunk into the sea. 20 But that a book, in worse condition than a peccant soul, should be to stand before a jury ere it be born to the world, and undergo yet in darkness the judgment of Radamanth and his colleagues, ere it can pass the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity, provoked and troubled at the first entrance of Reformation, sought out new limbos and new hells wherein they might include our books also within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morsel so officiously snatched up, and so ill-favouredly imitated by 30 our inquisiturient bishops, and the attendant minorites, their chaplains. That ye like not now these most certain authors of this licensing order, and that all sinister intention was far distant from your thoughts when ye were importuned the passing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear ye readily.

But some will say, What though the inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may be so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious, and easy for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest commonwealths through all ages and occasions have forborne to use it, and falsest seducers and oppressors of men were the first who took it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of Reformation, I am of those who believe it will be a harder alchymy
 10 than Lullius ever knew, to sublimate any good use out of such an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, until I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have first to finish as was propounded: what is to be thought in general of reading books, whatever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit or the harm that thence proceeds.

Not to insist upon the examples of Moses, Daniel and
 20 Paul, who were skilful in all the learning of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their books of all sorts, in Paul especially, who thought it no defilement to insert into Holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek poets, and one of them a tragedian, the question was notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the primitive doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirmed it both lawful and profitable, as was then evidently perceived, when Julian the Apostate and subtlest enemy to our faith made a decree forbidding
 30 Christians the study of heathen learning; for, said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our own arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to their shifts by this crafty means and so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two Apollinarii were fain as a man may say to coin all the seven liberal sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers

forms of orations, poems, dialogues, even to the calculating of a new Christian grammar. But saith the historian Socrates : The providence of God provided better than the industry of Apollinarius and his son by taking away that illiterate law with the life of him who devised it. So great an injury they then held it to be deprived of Hellenic learning ; and thought it a persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the Church than the open cruelty of Decius or Diocletian. And perhaps it was the same politic drift that the devil whipped St. Jerome in a Lenten dream, 10 for reading Cicero ; or else it was a phantasm bred by the fever which had then seized him. For had an angel been his discipliner, unless it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianisms, and had chastised the reading, not the vanity, it had been plainly partial, first, to correct him for grave Cicero, and not for scurril Plautus whom he confesses to have been reading not long before, next, to correct him only, and let so many more ancient fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies without the lash of such a tutoring apparition ; insomuch that Basil teaches how some good 20 use may be made of Margites a sportful poem, not now extant, writ by Homer ; and why not then of Morgante, an Italian romance much to the same purpose ? But if it be agreed we shall be tried by visions, there is a vision recorded by Eusebius far ancier than this tale of Jerome to the nun Eustochium, and besides has nothing of a fever in it. Dionysius Alexandrinus was about the year 240 a person of great name in the Church for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himself much against heretics by being conversant in their books ; until a certain presbyter laid it scrupu- 30 lously to his conscience, how he durst venture himself among those defiling volumes. The worthy man loth to give offence fell into a new debate with himself what was to be thought ; when suddenly a vision sent from God (it is his own epistle that so avers it) confirmed him in these words : Read any books whatever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both

to judge aright and to examine each matter. To this revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to that of the Apostle to the Thessalonians: Prove all things, hold fast that which is good. And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same author: To the pure all things are pure; not only meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledge whether of good or evil; the knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the books, if the will and conscience be not defiled. For books
10 are as meats and viands are; some of good, some of evil substance; and yet God in that unapocryphal vision said without exception, Rise Peter, kill and eat, leaving the choice to each man's discretion. Wholesome meats to a vitiated stomach differ little or nothing from unwholesome; and best books to a naughty mind are not unapplicable to occasions of evil. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a discreet and judicious reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn,
20 and to illustrate. Whereof what better witness can ye expect I should produce than one of your own now sitting in Parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in this land, Mr. Selden, whose volume of natural and national laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea, errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest. I conceive, therefore, that when God did enlarge the universal diet of man's body,
30 saving ever the rules of temperance, He then also, as before, left arbitrary the dieting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his own leading capacity. How great a virtue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man! Yet God commits the managing so great a trust, without particular law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man.

And therefore when He Himself tabled the Jews from heaven, that omer which was every man's daily portion of manna is computed to have been more than might have well sufficed the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions, which enter into a man rather than issue out of him and therefore defile not, God uses not to captivate under a perpetual childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of reason to be his own chooser ; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion should grow so fast upon those things which heretofore were 10 governed only by exhortation. Solomon informs us that much reading is a weariness to the flesh ; but neither he nor other inspired author tells us that such or such reading is unlawful : yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more expedient to have told us what was unlawful than what was wearisome. As for the burning of those Ephesian books by St. Paul's converts, 'tis replied the books were magic ; the Syriac so renders them. It was a private act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation ; the men in remorse burnt those books 20 which were their own ; the magistrate by this example is not appointed ; these men practised the books ; another might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably ; and the knowledge of good is so involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discerned, that those confused seeds, which were imposed on Psyche as an incessant labour to cull out and sort asunder, were not more intermixed. It was from out the rind of one apple tasted 30 that the knowledge of good and evil as two twins cleaving together leaped forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to say of knowing good by evil. As therefore the state of man now is, what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear, without the knowledge of evil ?

He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world ; we bring impurity much rather : that which purifies
10 us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure ; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness ; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas, describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon and the Bower of Earthly Bliss, that he might see
20 and know, and yet abstain. Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely and with less danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity than by reading all manner of tractates, and hearing all manner of reason ? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read.

But of the harm that may result hence three kinds are usually reckoned : First, is feared the infection that may
30 spread ; but then all human learning and controversy in religious points must remove out of the world, yea, the Bible itself ; for that oftentimes relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnal sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against Providence through all the arguments of Epicurus : in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to

the common reader : and ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginal Keri, that Moses and all the prophets cannot persuade him to pronounce the textual Chetiv. For these causes we all know the Bible itself put by the Papist into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest fathers must be next removed, as Clement of Alexandria, and that Eusebian book of Evangelic Preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the Gospel. Who finds not that Irenæus, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others discover more 10 heresies than they well confute, and that oft for heresy which is the truer opinion? Nor boots it to say for these, and all the heathen writers of greatest infection, if it must be thought so, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able and most diligent to instil the poison they suck, first into the courts of princes, acquainting them with the choicest delights and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that Petronius whom 20 Nero called his Arbiter, the master of his revels ; and that notorious ribald of Arezzo, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian courtiers. I name not him, for posterity's sake, whom Henry the VIII. named in merriment his Vicar of hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreign books can infuse will find a passage to the people far easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be sailed either by the north of Cataio eastward or of Canada westward, while our Spanish licensing gags the English press never so severely. But on the other side, 30 that infection which is from books of controversy in religion is more doubtful and dangerous to the learned than to the ignorant ; and yet those books must be permitted untouched by the licenser. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath been ever seduced by papistical book in English, unless it were commended

and expounded to him by some of that clergy ; and indeed all such tractates whether false or true are as the prophecy of Isaiah was to the eunuch, not to be understood without a guide. But of our priests and doctors how many have been corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and Sorbonists, and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and sad. It is not forgot since the acute and distinct Arminius was perverted merely by the perusing of a nameless discourse written at Delft, which at first he took in hand to confute. Seeing therefore that those books, and those in great abundance which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppressed without the fall of learning and of all ability in disputation, and that these books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, from whom to the common people whatever is heretical or dissolute may quickly be conveyed, and that evil manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopped, and evil doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also do without writing and so beyond prohibiting, I am not unable to unfold how this cautelous enterprise of licensing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly disposed could not well avoid to liken it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his park gate. Besides another inconvenience : if learned men be the first receivers out of books and dispreaders both of vice and error, how shall the licensers themselves be confided in, unless we can confer upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the land, the grace of infallibility and uncorruptedness ? And again if it be true, that a wise man like a good refiner can gather gold out of the drossiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best book, yea, or without book, there is no reason that we should deprive

a wise man of any advantage to his wisdom, while we seek to restrain from a fool that which being restrained will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactness always used to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should, in the judgment of Aristotle not only but of Solomon and of our Saviour, not vouchsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good books, as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of sacred Scripture.

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'Tis next alleged we must not expose ourselves to temptations without necessity, and next to that, not employ our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such books are not temptations, nor vanities; but useful drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong medicines, which man's life cannot want. The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualify and prepare these working minerals, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hindered 20 forcibly they cannot be by all the licensing that Sainted Inquisition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promised to deliver next: That this order of licensing conduces nothing to the end for which it was framed; and hath almost prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath been explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when she gets a free and willing hand, opens herself faster than the pace of method and discourse can overtake her.

It was the task which I began with, to show that no nation, or well instituted state, if they valued books 30 at all, did ever use this way of licensing; and it might be answered, that this is a piece of prudence lately discovered; to which I return, that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had been difficult to find out, there wanted not among them long since who suggested such a course; which they not

following leave us a pattern of their judgment, that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cause of their not using it. Plato, a man of high authority indeed, but least of all for his Commonwealth, in the book of his Laws, which no city ever yet received, fed his fancy with making many edicts to his airy burgo-masters, which they who otherwise admire him wish had been rather buried and excused in the genial cups of an Academic night-sitting. By which laws he seems to
10 tolerate no kind of learning but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practical traditions, to the attainment whereof a library of smaller bulk than his own dialogues would be abundant; and there also enacts that no poet should so much as read to any private man what he had written, until the judges and law-keepers had seen it and allowed it. But that Plato meant this law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagined, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a lawgiver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expelled by his own
20 magistrates, both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetual reading of Sophron Mimus and Aristophanes, books of grossest infamy, and also for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the tyrant Dionysius, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this licensing of poems had reference and dependence to many other provisos there set down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place; and so neither he himself, nor any
30 magistrate or city, ever imitated that course, which taken apart from those other collateral injunctions must needs be vain and fruitless. For if they fell upon one kind of strictness, unless their care were equal to regulate all other things of like aptness to corrupt the mind, that single endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour: to shut and fortify one gate against corruption, and be

necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulate printing, thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate our recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. No music must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and Doric. There must be licensing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such Plato was provided of. It will ask more than the work of twenty licensers to examine all the lutes, and violins, and the guitars in every house; 10 they must not be suffered to prattle as they do, but must be licensed what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigals, that whisper softness in chambers? The windows also, and the balconies must be thought on; there are shrewd books, with dangerous frontispieces, set to sale; who shall prohibit them? shall twenty licensers? The villages also must have their visitors to inquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebeck reads, even to the ballatry, and the gamut of every municipal fiddler, for these are the countryman's Arcadias and his Monte Mayors. 20 Next, what more national corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, than household gluttony? who shall be the rectors of our daily rioting? and what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses where drunkenness is sold and harboured? Our garments also should be referred to the licensing of some more sober workmasters to see them cut into a less wanton garb. Who shall regulate all the mixed conversation of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this country? who shall still appoint what shall be discoursed, what 30 presumed, and no further? Lastly, who shall forbid and separate all idle resort, all evil company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be least hurtful, how least enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of a State. To sequester out of the world into Atlantic and Utopian polities, which never can be drawn

into use, will not mend our condition ; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evil, in the midst whereof God hath placed us unavoidably. Nor is it Plato's licensing of books will do this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of licensing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrate ; but those unwritten, or at least unconstraining, laws of virtuous education, religious and civil nurture, which Plato there mentions as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars
10 and the sustainers of every written statute ; these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all licensing will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissness, for certain, are the bane of a Commonwealth ; but here the great art lies to discern in what the law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things persuasion only is to work. If every action which is good or evil in man at ripe years were to be under pittance and prescription and compulsion, what were virtue but a name, what praise could be then due to well-doing, what grammercy to be
20 sober, just, or continent ? Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues ! When God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing ; he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions. We ourselves esteem not of that obedience or love or gift, which is of force : God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes ; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he create
30 passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue ? They are not skilful considerers of human things, who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin ; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing, though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot from

all in such a universal thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left: ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercised in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste that came not thither so; such great care and wisdom is required to the right managing of this point. Suppose we could expel sin by this means; look how much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of virtue: 10 for the matter of them both is the same; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who though he commands us temperance, justice, continence, yet pours out before us, even to a profuseness, all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigour contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, both to the trial of virtue and the exercise of truth? It would be better done to learn that the law 20 must needs be frivolous which goes to restrain things uncertainly and yet equally working to good and to evil. And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evil-doing. For God sure esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person more than the restraint of ten vicious. And albeit whatever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing may be fitly called our book, and is of the same effect that writings are, yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only books, it 30 appears that this order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftener, but weekly that continued court-libel against the Parliament and City, printed, as the wet sheets can witness, and dispersed among us for all that licensing can do? yet this is the prime service, a man would think, wherein this order should

give proof of itself. If it were executed, you'll say. But certain, if execution be remiss or blindfold now and in this particular, what will it be hereafter and in other books? If then the order shall not be vain and frustrate, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons: ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicensed books already printed and divulged; after ye have drawn them up into a list, that all may know which are condemned and which not; and ordain that no foreign books be delivered out
10 of custody, till they have been read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overseers, and those no vulgar men. There be also books which are partly useful and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more officials to make expurgations and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of learning be not damnified. In fine, when the multitude of books increase upon their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those printers who are found frequently offending, and forbid the importation of their whole suspected typography.
20 In a word, that this your order may be exact, and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly according to the model of Trent and Seville, which I know ye abhor to do. Yet though ye should condescend to this, which God forbid, the order still would be but fruitless and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or so uncatechised in story, that hath not heard of many sects refusing books as a hindrance, and preserving their doctrine unmixed for many ages only by unwritten traditions? The Christian faith,
30 for that was once a schism, is not unknown to have spread all over Asia, ere any Gospel or Epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aimed at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitional rigour that hath been excuted upon books.

Another reason, whereby to make it plain that this order

will miss the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every licenser. It cannot be denied but that he who is made judge to sit upon the birth or death of books, whether they may be wafted into this world or not, had need to be a man above the common measure both studious, learned, and judicious; there may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not; which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behoves him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing journey-work, a greater loss of time levied upon 10 his head, than to be made the perpetual reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, oftentimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable unless at certain seasons; but to be enjoined the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scarce legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest print, is an imposition which I cannot believe how he that values time and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostril, should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present licensers to be pardoned for so thinking; who doubtless took this office 20 up looking on it through their obedience to the Parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easy and unlaborious to them; but that this short trial hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to solicit their license are testimony enough. Seeing therefore those who now possess the employment, by all evident signs, wish themselves well rid of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours, is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary 30 of a Press-corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of licensers we are to expect hereafter: either ignorant, imperious, and remiss, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to show, wherein this order cannot conduce to that end whereof it bears the intention.

I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the

manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront that can be offered to learning and to learned men.

It was the complaint and lamentation of prelates upon every least breath of a motion to remove pluralities and distribute more equally Church revenues, that then all learning would be for ever dashed and discouraged. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of learning stood or fell with the clergy; nor
10 could I ever but hold it for a sordid and unworthy speech of any churchman who had a competency left him. If therefore ye be loth to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study and love learning for itself, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good
20 of mankind, then know, that so far to distrust the judgment and the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in learning and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop a schism or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only escaped the ferula to come under the fescue of an Imprimatur? if serious and elaborate writings, as if they
30 were no more than the theme of a grammar lad under his pedagogue, must not be uttered without the cursory eyes of a temporising and extemporising licenser? He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evil and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born for other than a fool

or a foreigner. When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him ; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious friends ; after all which done he takes himself to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him. If in this the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unless he carry all his considerate diligence, all 10 his midnight watchings, and expense of Palladian oil, to the hasty view of an unleisured licenser, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, and, if he be not repulsed or slighted, must appear in print like a puny with his guardian and his censor's hand on the back of his title to be his bail and surety, that he is no idiot or seducer, it cannot be but a dishonour and derogation to the author, to the book, to the privilege and dignity of learning. And what if the author shall be one so copious 20 of fancy as to have many things well worth the adding come into his mind after licensing, while the book is yet under the press, which not seldom happens to the best and diligentest writers ; and that perhaps a dozen times in one book. The printer dares not go beyond his licensed copy ; so often then must the author trudge to his leave-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewed ; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licenser, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure ; meanwhile either the press must stand still, which is no 30 small damage, or the author lose his accuratest thoughts, and send the book forth worse than he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching, how can he be a doctor in his book, as he ought to be or else had better be silent,

whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction, of his patriarchal licenser to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hide-bound humour which he calls his judgment? When every acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantic licence, will be ready with these like words to ding the book a quoit's distance from him : 'I hate a pupil teacher ; I endure not a instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the licenser, but that I have his own

10 hand here for his arrogance ; who shall warrant me his judgment?' 'The State, sir,' replies the stationer ; but has a quick turn, 'The State shall be my governors, but not my critics ; they may be mistaken in the choice of a licenser, as easily as this licenser may be mistaken in an author : this is some common stuff' ; and he might add from Sir Francis Bacon that 'such authorized books are but the language of the times.' For though a licenser should happen to be judicious more than ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office and

20 his commission enjoins him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his lifetime and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be printed or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge uttered in the height of zeal, and who knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine spirit, yet not suiting with every low decrepit humour of their own, though it were Knox himself the Reformer of a Kingdom that spake it,

30 they will not pardon him their dash ; the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost for the fearfulness or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory licenser. And to what an author this violence hath been lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence to be faithfully published, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things be not resented

seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that such iron moulds as these shall have authority to gnaw out the choicest periods of exquisitest books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that hapless race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more than worldly wise ; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothful, to be a common steadfast dunce, will be the only pleasant 10 life and only in request.

And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive, and most injurious to the written labours and monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole Nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgment which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good soever ; much less that it should not pass except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strained with their strainers, that it 20 should be uncurrent without their manual stamp. Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolised and traded in by tickets and statutes and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broadcloth and our woolpacks. What is it but a servitude like that imposed by the Philistines, not to be allowed the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges. Had any one written and divulged erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, 30 misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudged him, that he should never henceforth write but what were first examined by an appointed officer, whose hand should be annexed to pass his credit for him that now he might be safely read, it could not be apprehended less than a dis-

- graceful punishment. Whence to include the whole Nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspectful prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more, whenas debtors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive books must not stir forth without a visible jailor in their title. Nor is it to the common people less than a reproach ; for if we so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what do we but
- 10 censure them for a giddy, vicious, and ungrounded people, in such a sick and weak estate of faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licenser. That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in those Popish places where the laity are most hated and despised the same strictness is used over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of license, nor that neither ; whenas those corruptions which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other doors which cannot be shut.
- 20 And in conclusion it reflects to the disrepute of our Ministers also, of whose labours we should hope better, and of the proficiency which their flock reaps by them, than that after all this light of the Gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continual preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincipled, unedified, and laic rabble, as that the whiff of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the Ministers when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations and the benefiting of
- 30 their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned loose to three sheets of paper without a licenser ; that all the sermons, all the lectures preached, printed, vented in such numbers and such volumes as have now well-nigh made all other books unsaleable, should not be armour enough against one single enchiridion, without the castle St. Angelo of an Imprimatur.

And lest some should persuade ye, Lords and Commons, that these arguments of learned men's discouragement at this your order, are mere flourishes and not real, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannises; when I have sat among their learned men, for that honour I had, and been counted happy to be born in such a place of philosophic freedom as they supposed England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servile condition into which learning amongst them was brought: that this was it which 10 had damped the glory of Italian wits, that nothing had been there written now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensors thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the prelatical yoke, nevertheless I took it as a pledge of future happiness, that other nations were so persuaded of her liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope that those Worthies were 20 then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance as shall never be forgotten by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts uttered against the Inquisition, the same I should hear by as learned men at home uttered in time of Parliament against an order of licensing; and that so generally, that when I had disclosed myself a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom 30 an honest quæstorship had endeared to the Sicilians, was not more by them importuned against Verres, than the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and persuasions, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into

my mind toward the removal of an undeserved thralldom upon learning. That this is not therefore the disburdening of a particular fancy, but the common grievance of all those who had prepared their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth in others and from others to entertain it, thus much may satisfy. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the general murmur is: that if it come to inquisitioning again and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves, and

10 so suspicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are, if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading except what they please, it cannot be guessed what is intended by some but a second tyranny over learning; and will soon put it out of controversy that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing. That those evils of Prelaty which before from five or six and twenty sees were distributively charged upon the

20 whole people, will now light wholly upon learning, is not obscure to us: whenas now the Pastor of a small unlearned Parish on the sudden shall be exalted Archbishop over a large diocese of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a mystical pluralist. He who but of late cried down the sole ordination of every novice Bachelor of Art, and denied sole jurisdiction over the simplest parishioner, shall now at home in his private chair assume both these over worthiest and excellentest books and ablest authors that write them. This is not, Ye Covenants and

30 Protestations that we have made, this is not to put down Prelaty; this is but to chop an Episcopacy; this is but to translate the Palace Metropolitan from one kind of dominion into another; this is but an old canonical sleight of commuting our penance. To startle thus betimes at a mere unlicensed pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conven-

ticle of every Christian meeting. But I am certain that a State governed by the rules of justice and fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon a rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are yet not constituted in Religion, that freedom of writing should be restrained by a discipline imitated from the Prelates, and learnt by them from the Inquisition, to shut us up all again into the breast of a licenser, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men. Who cannot but discern the 10 fineness of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers: that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open: it was the people's birthright and privilege in time of Parliament, it was the breaking forth of light? But now the Bishops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation sought no more but to make room for others into their seats under another name, the Episcopal arts begin to bud again, the cruse of truth must run no more oil, liberty of Printing must be enthralled again under a prelatical commission of twenty, the privilege of the 20 people nullified, and, which is worse, the freedom of learning must groan again and to her old fetters, all this the Parliament yet sitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the Prelates might remember them that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at: instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation. 'The punishing of wits enhances their authority,' saith the Viscount St. Albans; 'and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of 30 truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.' This order therefore may prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily show how it will be a stepdame to Truth: and first by disabling us to the maintenance of what is known already:

Well knows he who uses to consider, that our faith and

knowledge thrives by exercise as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compared in Scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believe things only because his Pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy. There is not any burden that some
10 would gladlier post off to another than the charge and care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be, of Protestants and professors who live and die in as arrant an implicit faith as any lay Papist of Loretto. A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits finds Religion to be a traffic so entangled and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he do? Fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What
20 does he therefore but resolves to give over toiling, and to find himself out some factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs, some Divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole warehouse of his religion, with all the locks and keys into his custody; and indeed makes the very person of that man his religion; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his religion is now no more within himself, but is become a dividual
30 movable, and goes and comes near him according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his Religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally supped, and sumptuously laid to sleep, rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey, or some well-spiced brewage, and better breakfasted than He whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs

between Bethany and Jerusalem, his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his religion.

Another sort there be who when they hear that all things shall be ordered, all things regulated and settled, nothing written but what passes through the custom-house of certain Publicans that have the tonnaging and the poundaging of all free-spoken truth, will straight give themselves up into your hands, make 'em and cut 'em out what religion ye please. There be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes 10 that will fetch the day about from sun to sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have taken so strictly and so unalterably into their own purveying? These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wished were such an obedient unanimity as this, what a fine conformity would it starch us all into? Doubtless a staunch and solid piece of framework as any January could freeze together. 20

Nor much better will be the consequence even among the clergy themselves. It is no new thing never heard of before for a parochial Minister, who has his reward and is at his Hercules' pillars in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English Concordance and a Topic folio, the gatherings and savings of a sober graduateship, a Harmony and a Catena, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinal heads, attended with the uses, motives, marks and means, out of which, as out of an 30 alphabet or sol-fa, by forming and transforming, joining and disjoining variously a little bookcraft, and two hours' meditation, might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of sermoning, not to reckon up the infinite helps of interlinearies, breviaries, synopses, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude

of sermons ready printed and piled up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading St. Thomas in his vestry, and add to boot St. Martin and St. Hugh, have not within their hallowed limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made; so that penury he never need fear of pulpit provision, having where so plenteously to refresh his magazine. But if his rear and flanks be not impaled, if his back door be not secured by the rigid licenser, but that a bold book may now and then issue forth, and give the
 10 assault to some of his old collections in their trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinels about his received opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduced, who also then would be better instructed, better exercised and disciplined. And God send that the fear of this diligence which must then be used do not make us affect the laziness of a licensing Church.

For if we be sure we are in the right, and do not hold
 20 the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair than when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for aught we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be sound? Christ urged it as wherewith to justify himself, that he
 30 preached in public; yet writing is more public than preaching; and more easy to refutation, if need be, there being so many whose business and profession merely it is, to be the champions of Truth; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but their sloth, or inability?

Thus much we are hindered and disinured by this course of licensing towards the true knowledge of what we seem

to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licensers themselves in the calling of their ministry, more than any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other, I insist not, because it is a particular, but leave it to their own conscience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purposed to lay open : the incredible loss and detriment that this plot of licensing puts us to. More than if some enemy at sea should stop up all 10 our havens and ports and creeks, it hinders and retards the importation of our richest merchandise, Truth ; nay, it was first established and put in practice by Antichristian malice and mystery on set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of Reformation, and to settle falsehood, little differing from that policy wherewith the Turk upholds his Alcoran by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not denied, but gladly confessed, we are to send our thanks and vows to heaven louder than most of nations for that great measure of truth which we enjoy, especially in those main points 20 between us and the Pope with his appurtenances the Prelates ; but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attained the utmost prospect of reformation that the mortal glass wherein we contemplate can show us, till we come to beatific vision, that man by this very opinion declares that he is yet far short of Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on ; but when he ascended, and his apostles after him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of 30 deceivers, who, as that story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that Isis made for

the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall do, till her Master's second coming; he shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licensing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies to the

10 torn body of our martyred saint. We boast our light; but if we look not wisely on the Sun itself, it smites us into darkness. Who can discern those planets that are oft combust, and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the Sun, until the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen evening or morning? The light which we have gained, was given us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a priest, the unmitring of a

20 bishop, and the removing him from off the Presbyterian shoulders that will make us a happy Nation; no, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule of life both economical and political be not looked into and reformed, we have looked so long upon the blaze that Zuinglius and Calvin hath beacons up to us, that we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. 'Tis their own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meekness nor can

30 convince; yet all must be suppressed which is not found in their Syntagma. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissevered pieces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be still searching what we know not by what we know, still closing up truth to truth, as we find it (for all her body is homogeneal and proportional), this is

the golden rule in theology as well as in arithmetic, and makes up the best harmony in a Church, not the forced and outward union of cold and neutral and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is whereof ye are and whereof ye are the governors: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her deepest 10 sciences have been so ancient and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and ablest judgment have been persuaded that even the school of Pythagoras and the Persian wisdom took beginning from the old philosophy of this island. And that wise and civil Roman, Julius Agricola, who governed once here for Cæsar, preferred the natural wits of Britain before the laboured studies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of Russia and beyond the Hercynian 20 wilderness, not their youth, but their staid men, to learn our language and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of heaven, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this Nation chosen before any other, that out of her as out of Sion should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all Europe? And had it not been the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the divine and admirable spirit of Wickliff, to suppress him 30 as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Huss and Jerome, no, nor the name of Luther or of Calvin had been ever known; the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demeaned the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest scholars, of

- whom God offered to have made us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church, even to the reforming of Reformation itself. What does he then but reveal himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his Englishmen; I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels, and are unworthy?
- 10 Behold now this vast city: a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguered Truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present as with their homage and their fealty the approaching Reformation, others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and conviction.
- 20 What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies? We reckon more than five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks; had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these
- 30 fantastic terrors of sect and schism we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men to reassume the ill-reputed care of their Religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and

some grain of charity might win all these diligences to join and unite in one general and brotherly search after Truth, could we but forego this prelatical tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if some great and worthy stranger should come among us, wise to discern the mould and temper of a people and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as Pyrrhus did, admiring 10 the Roman docility and courage: If such were my Epirots, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy. Yet these are the men cried out against for schismatics and sectaries; as if, while the temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrational men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the house of God can be built. And when every stone is 20 laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world; neither can every piece of the building be of one form; nay, rather the perfection consists in this: that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportionate arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerate builders, more wise in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come wherein Moses the great 30 prophet may sit in heaven rejoicing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfilled, when not only our seventy Elders but all the Lord's people are becoming Prophets. No marvel then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodness, as Joshua then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own weakness are in

agony, lest those divisions and subdivisions will undo us. The adversary again applauds, and waits the hour ; when they have branched themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool ! he sees not the firm root, out of which we all grow though into branches ; nor will beware until he see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need
10 that solicitude honest perhaps though over-timorous of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh in the end at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to persuade me :

First, when a city shall be as it were besieged and blocked about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battle oft rumoured to be marching up even to her walls and suburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more than at other times, wholly taken up with the study of highest and most important matters to
20 be reformed, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, even to a rarity, and admiration, things not before discoursed or written of, argues first a singular goodwill, contentedness and confidence in your prudent foresight and safe government, Lords and Commons ; and from thence derives itself to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who when Rome was nigh besieged by Hannibal, being in the city, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon Hannibal himself encamped
30 his own regiment. Next, it is a lively and cheerful presage of our happy success and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous not only to vital but to rational faculties and those in the acutest and the pertest operations of wit and subtlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is, so when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has not only where-

with to guard well its own freedom and safety but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle 10 mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

What should ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this city, should ye set an oligarchy of twenty 20 engrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel? Believe it, Lords and Commons, they who counsel ye to such a suppressing do as good as bid ye suppress yourselves; and I will soon show how. If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild and free and humane government; it is the liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us, liberty which is the nurse of all 30 great wits; this is that which hath rarefied and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing of the truth, unless ye first make yourselves, that made us so, less the

lovers, less the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish, as ye found us ; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your own virtue propagated in us ; ye cannot suppress that unless ye reinforce an abrogated and merciless law, that
10 fathers may despatch at will their own children. And who shall then stick closest to ye, and excite others ? not he who takes up arms for coat and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

What would be best advised then, if it be found so hurtful and so unequal to suppress opinions for the newness, or the unsuitableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task
20 to say ; I only shall repeat what I have learned from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious lord, who had he not sacrificed his life and fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him I am sure ; yet I for honour's sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him—the Lord Brook. He writing of Episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured re-
30 gard with ye, so full of meekness and breathing charity, that, next to His last testament who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscalled, that desire to live purely, in such a use of God's ordinances as the best guidance of their conscience gives

them, and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world and dedicated to the Parliament by him who, both for his life and for his death, deserves that what advice he left be not laid by without perusal.

And now the time in special is by privilege to write and speak what may help to the further discussing of matters in agitation. The temple of Janus with his two controversial faces might now not insignificantly be set open. And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play 10 upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of Geneva, framed and fabricked already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy, and oppose, if 20 it come not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, to seek for wisdom as for hidden treasures early and late, that another order shall enjoin us to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath been labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnished out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battle ranged, scattered and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he 30 please only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponents then to skulk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valour enough in soldiership, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong next to

the Almighty. She needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power. Give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound; but then rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahab, until she be adjured into her own likeness. Yet it is
10 not impossible that she may have more shapes than one. What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike herself? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of those ordinances, that hand-writing nailed to the cross, what great purchase is this Christian liberty which Paul so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not
20 the chief stronghold of our hypocrisy to be ever judging one another! I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linen decency yet haunts us. We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentals; and through our forwardness to suppress, and our backwardness to recover any enthralled piece of truth out of the gripe of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We do not see that, while
30 we still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of wood and hay and stubble forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a Church than many subdichotomies of petty schisms. Not that I can think well of every light separation, or that all in a Church is to be expected gold and silver and

precious stones; it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other fry; that must be the Angels' Ministry at the end of mortal things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind (as who looks they should be?) this doubtless is more wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian: that many be tolerated rather than all compelled. I mean not tolerated Popery and open superstition, which as it extirpates all religions and civil supremacies, so itself should be extirpate, provided first that all charitable and compassionate means be used to win 10 and regain the weak and misled; that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or manner no law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlay itself; but those neighbouring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt the unity of Spirit, if we could but find among us the bond of peace. In the meanwhile if any one would write, and bring his helpful hand to the slow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have spoken to 20 him before others, or but seemed at least to speak, who hath so bejesuited us that we should trouble that man with asking license to do so worthy a deed? And not consider this, that if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself; whose first appearance to our eyes bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom is more unsightly and unpalatable than many errors, even as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to. And what do they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard 30 but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others, and is the chief cause why sects and schisms do so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from us? Besides yet a greater danger which is in it: for when God shakes a Kingdom with strong and healthful commotions to a general reforming, 'tis not untrue that many

sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing ; but yet more true it is, that God then raises to his own work men of rare abilities and more than common industry, not only to look back and revise what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further and go on some new enlightened steps in the discovery of truth. For such is the order of God's enlightening his Church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed and confined,
10 where and out of what place these his chosen shall be first heard to speak ; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote ourselves again to set places and assemblies and outward callings of men, planting our faith one while in the old Convocation house, and another while in the Chapel at Westminster ; when all the faith and religion that shall be there canonized, is not sufficient, without plain convincement and the charity of patient instruction, to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edify the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in
20 the Spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made ; no, though Harry the VII. himself there, with all his liege tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead, to swell their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly with liberal and frequent audience ; if not for
30 their sakes, yet for our own, seeing no man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who not contented with stale receipts are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may serve to polish and brighten the armoury of Truth, even for that respect

they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the special use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the Priests nor among the Pharisees, and we in the haste of a precipitant zeal shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we understand them, no less than woe to us, while, thinking thus to defend the Gospel, we are found the persecutors.

10

There have been not a few since the beginning of this Parliament, both of the Presbytery and others, who by their unlicensed books to the contempt of an Imprimatur first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to see day. I hope that none of those were the persuaders to renew upon us this bondage which they themselves have wrought so much good by contemning. But if neither the check that Moses gave to young Joshua, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young John, who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought 20 unlicensed, be not enough to admonish our Elders how unacceptable to God their testy mood of prohibiting is, if neither their own remembrance what evil hath abounded in the Church by this let of licensing, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not enough, but that they will persuade, and execute the most Dominican part of the Inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing, it would be no unequal distribution in the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves; whom the change of their condition 30 hath puffed up more than their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

And as for regulating the Press, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better than yourselves have done in that order published next before this: "that no book be Printed, unless the Printer's and the Author's name,

or at least the Printer's be registered." Those which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectual remedy that man's prevention can use. For this authentic Spanish policy of licensing books, if I have said aught, will prove the most unlicensed book itself within a short while; and was the immediate image of a Star Chamber decree to that purpose made in those very times when that Court did the rest of
10 those her pious works, for which she is now fallen from the stars with Lucifer. Whereby ye may guess what kind of State prudence, what love of the people, what care of Religion or good manners there was at the contriving, although with singular hypocrisy it pretended to bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent order so well constituted before, if we may believe those men whose profession gives them cause to inquire most, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of some old patentees and monopolisers in the trade of
20 bookselling; who under pretence of the poor in their Company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his several copy, which God forbid should be gainsaid, brought divers glosing colours to the House, which were indeed but colours, and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours, men who do not therefore labour in an honest profession, to which learning is indebted, that they should be made other men's vassals. Another end is thought was aimed at by some of them in procuring by petition this Order, that,
30 having power in their hands, malignant books might the easier scape abroad, as the event shows. But of these sophisms and elenchs of merchandise I skill not. This I know, that errors in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident; for what Magistrate may not be misinformed, and much the sooner, if liberty of Printing be reduced into the power of a few? But to

redress willingly and speedily what hath been erred, and in highest authority to esteem a plain advertisement more than others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a virtue (honoured Lords and Commons) answerable to your highest actions, and whereof none can participate but greatest and wisest men.

NOTES.

1. 1. **states**: possibly = 'statesmen.' It has been pointed out that in his translation of *Psalm* 82, Milton has 'Of kings and lordly states.' But here 'kings' = 'the mighty,' or 'princes,' of the English versions, and 'lordly states' is an evident tag (in which Milton's *Psalms* richly abound). On p. 13 we have 'cities' 'signories,' and 'states' admonished by orators. The word 'states' also means (as Germ. *Staaten*) the constitutional assembly of the 'estates of the realm,' and here probably intimates the English Parliament and the Athenian Boulé, and all such assemblies.

1. 4. **I suppose them** A sudden change of construction. The nominative **They** of l. 1 has no verb. Such irregularities occur not unfrequently in first rate writers, especially, of course, in poetry. The sentence reminds one forcibly of the style of Thucydides in his speeches. We may perhaps regard **They who** as a kind of compound relative, and equivalent to the Latin *qui*, which often thus begins a sentence.

1. 4. as at ..., *i.e.* as natural at the beginning of so important an undertaking.

1. 5. **altered**: changed from their usual state of mind; upset; perturbed. Cf. Ital. *alterarsi*, 'to be vexed.'

1. 7. **success**: result (either good or bad). Cf. *Par. Lost*, vi. 161. Shakespeare uses 'bad success' (*Troilus*, II. ii. 117; 3 *Hen. VI.* II. ii. 46) as does also Milton in the first line of *Par. Reg.* iv.

1. 8. **censure** (Lat. *censura* = assessment of property), verdict, opinion.

1. 10. as the subject was For the subjects of his various Treatises see Introduction.

1. 11. **likely**: 'probably.' The sense is that he would have probably shown in this exordium that he was specially influenced

by one of these four feelings unless he had been so overmastered by enthusiasm. By *the power within me* he means, I suppose, what Socrates called the 'hegemonic' element in human nature—that within us which takes the lead and determines our acts.

1. 16. *far more welcome...*, *i.e.* an enthusiasm which I am right willing to welcome and acknowledge, but which is not an ordinary characteristic of a prefatory paragraph.

1. 16. *Which though...* The sense is, 'And no one can blame me for freely and voluntarily confessing this in case my enthusiasm is really the enthusiasm of one who wishes, and tries to promote, his country's liberty.'

1. 20. *a certain testimony... trophy.* The whole of his proposed discourse will testify to the feelings just described, even though it may not result in their triumph.

2. 3. *To which if...*, *i.e.* and if, as I prove by thus venturing to raise my voice, we have already in great measure attained civil liberty—and that too from an apparently hopeless abyss—it is attributable first to God and then to you.

2. 5. *and yet from...* The idea seems to be that of a ravine, or abyss, with hopelessly steep sides, cut into the civil and religious constitution by tyranny and superstition, which are said to have *grounded the abyss*, *i.e.* split it open to its bottom, as a torrent that splits open the side of a mountain.

2. 7. *the manhood of a Roman recovery:* the strength and valour (Lat. *virtus*) with which Rome ever again recovered herself after defeat. The sense may be 'a disadvantage which proved too much for even Rome (at her last decline and fall).'

But the allusion seems to be to what Hannibal says in one of Horace's Odes, *i.e.* that it is useless contending against Rome, for the deeper she is plunged into the depths of misfortune the stronger and more beautiful she emerges. In this case the sense would be that England had recovered itself from the abyss of tyranny and superstition in a way that showed even more 'manhood' than Rome ever showed.

2. 13. *if I now first...* He alludes especially to his panegyric on the parliament that appeared in 1642 in his *Apology for Smectymnus*.

2. 15. *obligement upon... to:* we should rather say that the realm was 'under an obligation to.'

2. 25. *the former two...* in his former writings he had made it an object to show that (1) he only praised what really deserved praise, and that (2) those whom he praised actually possessed such praiseworthy qualities. Notice *endeavour* as a transitive verb.

2. 26. **rescuing the employment from him** . . . Bishop Hall of Norwich published a *Humble Remonstrance* against the anti-episcopal Petition. This was answered by a pamphlet composed by five writers (Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calemy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstun), the initials of whose names were combined into the pseudonym *Smectymnus*. Thereupon Bishop Hall replied with a *Defence*, and Milton then followed suit with his *Animadversions*, which Hall answered by a *Confutation*. Milton then finally crushed his opponent by his *Apology for Smectymnus*. In this *Apology* he accuses the Bishop of 'pretending to extol parliament' and at the same time speaking with 'suspicious and murmuring expression' of that glorious (!) act of the parliament—the execution of Strafford. 'I shall discover to ye, readers,' he says, 'that this his praising of them is as full of nonsense and scholastic foppery as his meaning he himself discovers to be full of close (hidden) malignity.' He calls it also **trivial** (Lat. *trivium*, a meeting of three roads, hence *trivialis*, commonplace) because it dealt merely in valueless commonplaces.

2. 28. **the latter** : what above he calls **the other**, i.e. the remaining, third, point. Having on former occasions stated sufficiently that the parliament merits praise, he now intends to acquit himself from any possible charge of insincerity and flattery. This he will do by freely speaking his mind and showing that he believes in their magnanimity and wisdom.

2. 33. **gives ye**. Also in Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers **ye** is used for the oblique case. It was originally the nominative, and *you* the accusative and dative, a fact that is easily remembered by thinking of the German *Ihr* (ye) and *Euch* (you).

3. 5. **whenas** = 'when,' or 'if.' Cf. *whereas*.

3. 7. **statists** : statesmen. Cf. Shaks. *Cymb.*, II. iv. ; *Hamlet*, v. ii. ; and *Par. Reg.* iv. 354, where the word is used similarly, as also by Wordsworth in his *Poet's Epitaph* :

'Art thou a statist, in the van

Of public conflicts trained and bred?'

3. 10. **triennial Parliament**. In April, 1640, Charles summoned what is known as the Short Parliament, which, before it had sat one month, he dissolved because it refused to accede to his demands. In November of the same year he felt obliged to call another (known later as the Long) Parliament, the 'Rump' remnant of which did not finally dissolve itself until 1660, though under the Protectorate the Barebones Parliament and others took its place for a time. One of the early measures of the Long Parliament was to pass a Triennial Act, 'by which it was ordered that more than three years should not elapse without a parliament being summoned' (Rankine). Also under

the Protectorate, in accordance with the 'Instrument of Government' Cromwell was bound to summon a parliament at least once in three years, and allow it to sit for at least five months. These Acts came to an end under Charles II. [*N.B.*—The expression 'triennial parliament' usually has reference to the Bill, passed twice in the reign of William III., and on the second occasion sanctioned by William, which *limited the duration* of Parliament to three years. In 1716 this period was extended by the Septennial Bill to seven years. The fact is that at first the danger was that the monarch would govern without a parliament, but after Charles II. had got together a parliament servilely submissive to his wishes, and had kept it sitting for *seventeen* years, it was considered necessary to limit such proceedings.]

3. 11. **prelates.** See remarks in Introduction on Star-Chamber and Milton's attitude towards Prelacy.

3. 11. **Cabin** : what we now call **cabinet** (the diminutive form).

3. 13. **brooking** : tolerating.

3. 13. **exceptions.** To 'take exception at' and to 'take, or make, exception to,' etc., are common expressions, and we still use the plural in the sense of 'objections.'

3. 18. **civil** : civilised, refined ; similarly **civility** (Ital. *civiltà*) = civilisation.

3. 19. **as what ... that ...** : as to gainsay that which . . .

3. 21. **new** has here somewhat the sense of the Lat. *novus* in such expressions as *novae res* (revolution), *i.e.* an advocate of new and subversive theories (as contrasted with his admiration for the 'old humanity').

3. 21. **insolent** meant originally merely 'unusual'; but it evidently has here also a touch of its later sense.

3. 23. **humanity** : in the sense of the Lat. *humanitas*, *i.e.* refinement. The expression 'the humanities,' or 'literae humaniores,' was used in old universities (the singular form *humanity* is, I think, still so used in Scotch universities) for a course of classical studies, as being more refining than other subjects.

3. 25. **polite**, polished, refined.

3. 26. **not yet** : probably = not still, no longer.

3. 26. **I could name him ...**, *i.e.* Isocrates. See Introduction, iii.

3. 32. **cities and signiories** : republics and 'tyrannies'; free states and districts under a ruler (The Greek 'tyrannos' means a ruler, usually a self-constituted ruler, but not necessarily what we mean by a 'tyrant') Shakespeare uses 'signories' (Ital. *signorie* = lordships) in the *Tempest* :

'Through all the signories it (Milan) was the first,
And Prospero the prime duke.'

3. 34. **Dion**, born at Prusa in Bithynia, called 'Chrysostomos' (cf. below p. 6. 33) on account of his eloquence, was the most famous of the Greek rhetoricians in the age of the Roman Emperors Nero and Trajan. Eighty of his orations (essays) are extant. In the speech here referred to, Dion protests against the odd Rhodian custom of making public statues do duty, with altered inscriptions, for whatever celebrities might be for the time in public favour.

4. 4. of northern latitude. In his *Life of Milton* Dr. Johnson pours what Macaulay calls 'clumsy ridicule' on this notion of Milton's, which he expressed later in his great poem :

'Unless an age too late, or cold

Climate, or years, damp my intended wing'

and which he had already expressed in his *Reason of Church Government* : 'If to the instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate or the fate of this age.' Johnson's 'clumsy ridicule' is as follows : 'There prevailed in his time an opinion that the world was in its decay, and that we have had the misfortune to be produced in the decrepitude of Nature. It was suspected that the whole creation languished, that neither trees nor animals had the height or bulk of their predecessors, and that everything was daily sinking by gradual diminution. Milton appears to suspect that souls partake of the general degeneracy, and is not without some fear that his book is to be written in *an age too late* for heroic poesy. Another opinion wanders about the world, and sometimes finds reception among wise men ; an opinion that restrains the operations of the mind to particular regions, and supposes that a luckless mortal may be born in a degree of latitude too high or too low for wisdom or for wit. From this fancy, wild as it is, he had not wholly cleared his head, when he feared lest the *climate* of his country might be *too cold* for flights of imagination.'

4. 5. **derogated** : detracted, subtracted. The Lat. *derogare* was properly to propose the repeal of a part of a law, while *arrogare* meant to propose some addition ; hence the words came to mean to detract and to assume or presume.

4. 6. **this privilege** : that of being permitted to 'admonish the state.'

4. 12. **from what quarter** Mr. St. John well cites from Plato's *Phaedrus* : 'The ministers of the Dodonaean Zeus inform us that the first oracles were delivered from an oak ; and the people of those days, not being so wise as we have become, cared not, so that what they heard were true, whether it proceeded from a rock or a tree.'

4. 15. **injury** : apparently the Lat. *injuria*, 'injustice' ; but perhaps with the further notion of 'insult.'

4. 17. a fit instance : a good opportunity.

4. 20. that Order. See Introduction, iv.

4. 25. every man's copy ... , *i.e.* protects copyright when registered in the books of the Company of Stationers.

4. 25. provides for the poor. The Company of Stationers seems to have devoted some of its profits to this object. In the Order, it is decreed 'that no person or persons shall hereafter print, or cause to be reprinted, any book, or books, or part of book or books, heretofore allowed of and granted to the said Company of Stationers for their relief and maintenance of their poor' without proper licence and consent.

4. 27. painful : laborious.

4. 29. his brother quadragesimal ... , *i.e.* Lenten and marriage licenses. The former were licenses to eat meat in Lent, and on such days as by Act of Parliament had been appointed as 'Fish Days.' Queen Elizabeth (says Walton in his *Life of Hooker*) used to say that she would never eat meat in Lent without a license from her little black husband, *i.e.* Archbishop Whitgift. Marriage was defined as a 'sacrament' by Act of Parliament, and had to be sanctioned by the Church. Milton, who held what he believed to be strictly Scriptural views on the subjects of marriage and divorce, regarded marriages as merely civil contracts, and said that he 'could find no ground in Scripture that ministers should meddle with them, as not sanctified or legitimate without their celebration' (*The Likeliest Means*).

4. 30. when the prelates expired. In 1641, during the first reforms of the Long Parliament, the advanced Puritans proposed what was called the 'Root and Branch Bill' for the abolition of Episcopacy, but, although the Bishops were soon after ejected from the House of Peers and thus lost their standing as 'Prelates,' Episcopacy was not actually abolished until parliament (in 1645, I think) confirmed the decisions of the Westminster Assembly, substituting Presbyterianism as the established religion.

4. 31. attend. The original meaning (as with *intendere*, and with *προσέχειν* in Greek) is to turn one's mind towards; to 'attend to' is therefore grammatically correct; but many such verbs (*e.g.* *circumferre*, *transjicere*, etc., in Latin) take a *sense construction*, and become transitive. The Lat. *attendere*, even in the sense of 'pay attention to,' or 'await,' is found (as Fr. *attendre*) with an accusative. Milton used the word similarly in *P.L.* vii., where he describes the fish :

'part single, or with mate

Graze the seaweed, their pasture. ...

Or in their pearly shells at ease attend

Moist nutriment.'

4. 31. **homily.** The derivation should be looked up.

4. 32. **first ... next ... last.** He here denotes the four main sections of his argument. First, he will show that though wise governments have always punished evil publications, this odious licensing of books before publication was invented or practised by tyrants, popes, and other such, whom the parliament of England should be loath to own as models (pp. 6 to 12). Secondly, he will show that the promiscuous reading of all kinds of books, good and bad, is the healthiest and most invigorating intellectual diet (pp. 12 to 19). Thirdly, he will show that this Order of parliament is useless (pp. 19 to 25). Lastly, he will prove that it is not only useless but pernicious, discouraging learning and obstructing the discovery and diffusion of truth (p. 25 to end, or rather to p. 39, where the peroration begins).

5. 3. **disexercising:** causing the disuse; preventing the exercise. The word seems to occur nowhere else. Cf. *disaccustom*, *disallow*, etc.

5. 4. **hindering and cropping:** the metaphor seems to be that of the tender plant of truth, hindered in germinating and cropped off short when it shows itself above ground.

5. 14. **vial** (*violl* and *phial* are other forms) is the Greek *φιάλη*, but the *φιαλή* was a flat saucer-like vessel used for libations (Lat. *patera*), while the ordinary meaning of vial or phial is, as here, a small bottle, usually with a lip for dropping, for strong essences, etc. Cf. Shakespeare's 'with juice of cursed hebenon in a phial.'

5. 17. **dragon's teeth.** When Cadmus was founding Thebes he slew a dragon, and, on the advice of Athene, sowed its teeth, whence armed men (called *Sparti* or *Sown*) sprang up, who killed each other with the exception of five. These were the ancestors of the Thebans. The rest of these dragon-teeth, according to one legend, came into the possession of Aietes, king of Colchis, and were sown by Jason, as every reader of Kingsley's *Heroes* knows.

5. 23. **as it were in the eye.** A 'reasonable creature' is like an external material image of God, but 'Reason' is like the moving life-like image of God within the pupil of the eye itself. (The word 'pupil' in this sense means a 'little image.') He means that a good book, as far as it represents Reason, is the image of God reflected directly in a human mind, whereas a human body is only the outward and visible sign of the divine image in man.

5. 23. **a burden to the earth:** an oft-quoted Homeric expression (*ἄχθος ἀρούρης*).

5. 26. a life beyond life. Cf. Wordsworth's lines (*Afterthought to Duddon Sonnets*):

'Enough, if something from our hands have power
To live and act and serve the future hour.'

5. 26. a life, whereof ..., i.e. no lapse of time can restore even a worthless life.

5. 27. and revolutions One might expect 'but,' as in the preceding clause.

5. 36. elemental life: a life depending on the four elements, an earthly, material existence.

6. 1. ethereal and fifth essence: spiritual existence. In the *Par. Lost* the word *ethereal* is always used, in distinction from *aerial*, in reference to the sphere of fiery aether which enclosed the elemental universe. This fiery aether was, according to old writers, of the nature of spirit, and to it the human soul had affinity. It formed the 'substance' of the heaven of the fixed stars, which were supposed to be points of concentrated aether. *Fifth essence* (Lat. *quinta essentia*) is this fifth ethereal existence, which is not one of the four elements, but immaterial and spiritual in its nature. When Satan, in quest of the new-created world, asks information from Uriel, the sun-regent, he is told how, at the Creation, the four elements, earth, flood, air, and fire, hastened to their respective quarters,

'And this ethereal quintessence of heaven
Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
That rolled orbicular and turned to stars.'

But Milton, in his 'spill that seasoned life,' and 'purest efficacy and extraction' alludes also to the fact that the word *quintessence* was used by alchemists to denote the fifth or last 'essence' of a natural body; hence, the purest extract—regarded almost as the 'soul' or 'life' of a natural object. [Horace speaks of the 'fifth part of the nectar' of Venus' lips; but this, perhaps, does not mean the 'quintessence' but, literally, the fifth part.]

6. 3. condemned of ... is perhaps rather a Latinism (*damnatus* and *genit.*), but it seems quite in order, and does not mean quite the same as 'condemned for' or 'convicted of.'

6. 3. introducing licence. Milton is fond of the contradistinction of licence and liberty:

'Licence they mean when they call liberty.' (*Sonnet vii.*)

6. 7. The Inquisition. Accounts of the Inquisition may be found in Encyclopaedias, to which the student might turn, if he deems it advisable. The only point at which a history of the Inquisition has any direct bearing on our text is that of licensing. See below on p. 24. 22.

6. 10. In Athens. See *Par. Reg.* iv. 240, and notes.

6. 14. Protagoras (480 to about 410 B.C.) was the first who called himself a 'Sophist,' and taught for pay. Plato (who speaks much, or makes Socrates speak much, of him, and named one of his greatest Dialogues after him) states he made more money by his teaching than 'Pheidias and ten other sculptors.' He is said to have been banished shortly before his death. Some, however, say that his books were burnt, but that he was not banished. Milton here closely copies Cicero's account (*De Nat. Deorum*, i. 23).

6. 14. judges of Areopagus. See Introduction, iv.

6. 16. a discourse: entitled 'About gods' (*περὶ θεῶν*). In his *Theaetetus*, Plato represents Protagoras as a sceptic, i.e. an inquirer on the subject.

6. 19. *Vetus Comœdia*, or *Comœdia prisca*: the old Greek comedy, to which the plays of 'Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque' (Horace, *Sat.* i. 4) belonged. Scholars should turn to what Horace says about the licence of this old comedy (*Ars Poet.* 281 *seq.*). Aristophanes ridiculed Euripides and Socrates unmercifully.

6. 21. Cicero writes: i.e. in his work on the Nature of the Gods, cited above. He says that such penalties as those inflicted on Protagoras must 'have made men slower to profess atheism, seeing that even doubt did not escape punishment.'

6. 21. *quell*, Ang.-Sax. *cwellan*, means properly to kill.

6. 27. Cyrene, a Greek city in W. Africa. The Cyrenaic school was founded by Aristippus, a contemporary and disciple of Socrates. He made pleasure—perfect ease of mind and body—the *summum bonum*. Epicurus, who flourished about 70 years later, identified happiness, his *summum bonum*, with a virtuous life. But his later followers degraded this doctrine into a coarse hedonism.

6. 27. Cynic impudence. The 'shamelessness,' or impudence, of the Cynics was notorious. The name is possibly from the snarling 'dog-like' [*κύων*=dog] effrontery of the founder Antisthenes, and such Cynics as Diogenes. [These should be looked up in a Classical Dict. or Encyclopaedia.] It is, however, possible that the name was derived from a Gymnasium outside Athens called Cynosarges, where Antisthenes is said to have taught.

6. 32. Dionysius. Plato visited Syracuse several times, first during the life of the elder Dionysius, 'tyrant of that city'; and afterwards for a time, in co-operation with Dion, he exercised considerable influence on the younger Dionysius, who is here called his 'royal scholar'; Holt White, in his note to this

passage, quotes from a writer, Samuel Petit (1594-1643), who states, in Latin, that Plato recommended Aristophanes to 'Dionysio regi Syracusano,' when that king wished to learn Greek. If this was Milton's sole authority, it was little enough.

6. 33. **holy Chrysostom** : the Bishop of Constantinople (about 347-407 A.D.) surnamed 'gold-mouth' (Chrysostom) on account of his eloquence. See above, on 3. 34. Several obscure sources (Manutius, Menage, etc.) have been detected whence Milton may have derived what he here states. It is, I suppose, of some, though very little, importance to discover the fact that Milton had some sort of authority, however questionable, for his assertions.

6. 36. **Lacedæmon** : the ordinary Greek name for what we generally call Sparta.

7. 1. **Lycurgus** (about 825 B.C.) remodelled the civil and military constitution of Sparta. Plutarch states that Lycurgus brought Homer's poems from Asia Minor, and 'was the first to make them generally known.' About 200 years later, Solon of Athens is said to have favoured the knowledge of the Homeric poems, and Pisistratus first had all the various portions of these poems collected and committed to writing.

7. 4. **Thales**, also called Thaletas (about 620 B.C.), was a celebrated musician and lyric poet, a native of Gortyna in Crete. Milton's authority here is Plutarch (*Life of Lycurgus*).

7. 6. **civility** : refinement. Cf. on 3. 18.

7. 7. **museless** : the Greek *ἄμωσος*, without the Muses, *i.e.* without the graces and refinements of art and education. The word, as applied to an ancient Greek, meant much what we mean by 'uneducated,' for with them music, dancing, gymnastics, rhetoric, and other such things that we regard rather as mere 'accomplishments,' were most important factors in education.

7. 10. **apothegms**, properly **apophthegms** : a Greek word meaning a terse, sententious utterance. From the well-known love of Spartans for brevity of speech, **laconic** (*i.e.* Lacedæmonian, or Spartan) has thus come to mean 'terse.'

7. 10. **Archilochus**, a native of the island Paros (about 700 B.C.), was a lyric and satyric poet, and is said to have invented the iambic measure (Hor. *Ep.* i. 19). Plutarch says that he was ejected from Sparta the very hour of his arrival for having written in his poetry that it was better to lose one's life than one's shield, a sentiment directly opposed to the well-known words of the Spartan mother who bade her son come back with his shield or on it. Some say that Archilochus himself (like Horace at Philippi) lost his shield in battle, and made a joke of it (again like Horace) in his verses. Other writers state that his poems were forbidden at Sparta, either because of their immorality, or

because his satires had caused the daughters of Lycambes (one of whom had been promised and then refused to him) to hang themselves. The verses of Archilochus about his shield are amusing. They may be loosely rendered thus :

Some Thracian's doubtless chuckling o'er an unexpected find—
A brand-new shield, which much against my will I left
behind.

Well, anyhow I saved my life. The shield may go to pot !
Another and a better one can easily be got.

7. 13. **not therein so cautious but** ... *i.e.* their caution in this case did not prevent their being just as dissolute in ...

7. 15. **conversing**, as *conversation*, originally meant 'intercourse,' 'association.'

7. 15. **in Andromache** : *i.e.* l. 590 *seq.* Euripides was a misogynist, and his assertion that 'no Spartan girl could be modest even if she wished' may perhaps be partly due to the fact that Spartan women had very much more liberty and took much more part in public life than the Athenian women—of whom Pericles (in Thucydides) said that their greatest glory was never to be spoken about. But also Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 7) accuses the Spartan women of immodesty.

7. 17. **after what sort** : 'as to what sort'..., or perhaps the sense is, 'may give us light in the enquiry after...'

7. 20. **twelve Tables** : the foundation of the Code of republican Rome ; drawn up by the Decemvirs (ten tables in 451, and two in 450 B.C.).

7. 21. **Pontific College**. The *pontifices* (whence our 'pontiffs') were originally nominated to superintend the building of a bridge over the Tiber (the word means 'bridge-makers'), and, being initiated into the mysteries of science, were entrusted with all religious state matters.

7. 21. **augurs** (perhaps connected with *avis*, a bird) were the (six) official soothsayers who interpreted the will of the gods by omens, flight of birds, etc.

7. 21. **flamens** were not ordinary priests (*sacerdotes*), but high functionaries who attended on certain deities. The flamens of Mars, Jupiter, and Quirinus (Romulus) are most frequently mentioned by ancient writers.

7. 23. **Carneades** (about 200-130 B.C.) was a great opponent of the Stoics, and the founder of the Third Academy at Athens. With Critolaüs (head of the 'Peripatetic' school) and Diogenes 'the Babylonian,' a Stoic—not the famous Cynic—he was sent to Rome in 155 B.C. by the Athenians 'to deprecate the fine of 500 talents which had been imposed on the Athenians for the destruction of Oropus.' At Rome he gave lectures on Justice, and

in his second lecture refuted all he had said in the first. This—a common trick of Greek sophists, who professed to ‘make the weaker argument the stronger’—was resented by Cato.

7. 27. **Cato** was Censor in 184 B.C. He is well-known for his vehement opposition to the introduction of Greek luxury, his hostility to the Scipios, and his ‘*delenda est Carthago!*’

7. 30. **Sabine austerity**: the rough, simple, old-fashioned habits of the Sabines (the inhabitants of mountain districts in Central Italy) are often mentioned by Roman writers. Cato’s father possessed a farm (as long afterwards did Horace) in the Sabine country.

7. 33. **Nævius . . Philemon**. Whatever details may be required will be found in Smith’s *Classical Dictionary*. The fact of importance is that the early Roman comedians (Terence might be added) copied the Greek comedians, and were in turn imitated by Molière and others.

8. 2. **unbridled pen**. He attacked the Scipios and the famous family of the Metelli.

8. 3. **recantation**. His repentance did not last long, it seems, and on renewing the offence he was exiled. He died at Utica, in North Africa, in 202 B.C.

8. 8. **Lucretius**. The classical dictionary should be consulted by those who do not know Lucretius; and Tennyson’s *Lucretius* should be read. The *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius’ magnificent work, in which he attempts to philosophize away the fear of death, is a highly poetical account of the atomic theories of Democritus and the philosophy of Epicurus. The poem is not exactly atheistic, for Lucretius allows the existence of gods, though he describes them as living in a ‘lucid interspace of world and world’ in beatific calm, caring nothing for man or the natural universe. The work was addressed to Caius Memmius Gemellus, who was praetor in 58 B.C.

8. 11. **by Cicero**. St. Jerome says that Lucretius’ verse was ‘most worthy of Cicero’s file,’ i.e. of being emended and edited (‘set forth’) by Cicero. Whether Milton had any other authority for his assertion is unknown. Cicero gained the title of ‘pater patriæ’ (father of his country) for having crushed Catiline’s conspiracy. In his philosophical works he combats the doctrines of Epicurus.

8. 14. **Lucilius** (148-103 B.C.), the first of the Roman satirists, was regarded as their master by Horace, Juvenal, and Persius.

8. 14. **Catullus** (87-47 B.C.) wrote poems in various styles and metres. Many of his lyrics are of wonderful grace and beauty; but he was licentious in his life, and often in his writings.

8. 14. **Flaccus**: i.e. Horace, whose whole name was Quintus Horatius Flaccus. Romans are sometimes called by their

family-name (as here), and sometimes by the name of their 'gens' (clan), as when we speak of Horace (Horatius) and Virgil (Publius Virgilius Maro).

8. 15. **the story of Titus Livius**, *i.e.* the History of Rome by Livy. Of this great work (142 books) we possess 35. The portion here referred to by Milton, in which Livy gave an account of the great civil war, and showed his preference for Pompey, is only known to us by a brief epitome.

8. 17. **Octavius Caesar**: more properly Caesar Octavianus; afterwards the Emperor Augustus. This tolerance of Augustus is mentioned by the historian Tacitus, who says that the Emperor used to call Livy jestingly a 'Pompeian,' and that Livy's opinions 'did no harm to their friendship.'

8. 18. **Naso**: the poet Ovid, whose full name was Publius Ovidius Naso. 'After living for many years at Rome, and enjoying the favour of Augustus, he was suddenly banished to Tomi, a town on the Euxine, near the mouth of the Danube. The pretext of his banishment was his licentious poem (*Ars Amatoria*), which had been published nearly 10 years previously; but the real cause of his exile is unknown' (*Class. Dict.*). He may have got mixed up with court scandals. A grand-daughter of the emperor was banished in the same year. It is said that Augustus did suppress the poem in question.

8. 36. **Porphyrius**, or Porphyry, a Greek 'Neoplatonist,' born perhaps at Tyre, originally named Malchus (= Melech, a king). At Athens he studied under Longinus, and at Rome under Plotinus. His treatise against Christianity was answered by many writers, including Eusebius. Constantine, and perhaps also Theodosius, ordered the work to be burnt. No copy is extant.

8. 36. **Proclus** also was a Neoplatonist. (These late followers of Platonic philosophy were some of the bitterest opponents of Christianity.) He laid claim to supernatural powers. Some of his writings are extant.

9. 5. **scrupled**: a curious use of the word as a transitive verb. See note on *attend*, p. 4, l. 31. The construction should not be confounded with that of a 'cognate accusative,' as in 'walk'd the waves,' etc.

9. 10. **Padre Paolo**, generally known as Fra Paolo. His lay name was Pietro Sarpi. He wrote a *History of the Council of Trent*, in which he unmasked the proceedings of that celebrated assembly. He was, as Milton elsewhere calls him, 'the great Venetian antagonist of the Pope,' supporting the republic against papal interference. Dr. Johnson attempted to publish a translation of Sarpi's *History*, but failed. **Trent** (Ital. *Trento*) is on

the Adige, not very far from Bozen, on the line from the Brenner to Verona. One often says 'Tridentine,' instead of 'Trentine,' as the Latin name of the town was Tridentum. The Council met at intervals from 1545 to 1563. Its decrees were meant as a counterblast to those of the Protestant Confession of Faith formulated at Augsburg. In Sarpi's account of the Council there is a 'Discourse of the author' on the Prohibition of Books, from which Milton seems to have derived some of his ideas on the subject.

9. 11. **After which time** : *i.e.* 800 A.D.

9. 11. **engrossing** really means 'buying up wholesale (*en gros*)'; hence 'getting into one's hands,' 'gaining a monopoly.'

9. 13. **over men's eyes** ... : *i.e.* would not allow them even to see such books.

9. 17. **Martin the Fifth** : about 1425. The editor of the *Areopagitica* in the Temple Series says that Milton is here in error, for Sarti expressly says that Martin's Bull 'did not mention' readers of Wyclif and Huss.

9. 17. **his bull**. For derivation see Imp. Dict. and look out *bulle* in Lat. Dict. or Dict. of Antiquities.

9. 18. **excommunicated the reading** : *i.e.* punished the reading with excommunication.

9. 21. **Leo the Tenth**, Giovanni de Medici, was Pope 1513-21. He is well known as the patron of Michel Angelo and Rafael.

9. 24. **expurging indexes**. 'There was,' says Prof. Hales, 'and still is, an *Index Librorum prohibitorum* as well as an *Index expurgatorius*.' The latter was the list of works which were not to be printed without expurgations. Hence Milton calls such an index a 'New Purgatory.'

9. 33. **also out of** ... Perhaps we should read **also**, as of ...

10. 9. **Davanzati** (1529-1606) was a Florentine, best known for his translation of Tacitus, which is said to contain less words than the original. His account of the 'Schism (*i.e.* Reformation) in England' is what is here licensed. It was published in 1638, in which year Milton was at Florence.

10. 14. **have a conceit** : have a notion ; imagine.

10. 18. **Claudius** : the Roman Emperor. Milton alludes to a jest of a Latin writer, which need not be repeated.

10. 19. **the Roman stamp** : *i.e.* 'one printed in Rome' ; in loose opposition to 'another of their forms' ; or perhaps the sense is 'one with the official Roman stamp.' But the word *stampa* in Italian means printing press, and *stampato* = printed.

10. 22. **Imprimatur** : a Latin word meaning 'let it be printed.'

10. 25. **piazza** : an open space, square, market-place ; cf. Germ. *Platz*, and our 'place,' etc. ; all probably from Grk. *πλατεία*, the ordinary word for a broad street. Here it means the expanse of a title page.

10. 26. **shaven reverences** : *i.e.* ducking and making bows (a 'reverence' in French, Ital. and Germ. means a 'bow') with their tonsured heads.

10. 29. **responsories** : parts of the service that contain responses.

10. 30. **antiphonies** : pl. of *antiphony* = *antiphon*, a Greek word meaning almost the same as (the Lat.) *response*, *i.e.* an 'answering voice.' An *antiphon* (which is identical with *anthem*) consists of verses alternately chanted.

10. 34. **Lambeth House** : the palace of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

10. 34. **west end of Paul's** : the Bishop of London, says Prof. Hales, had once a palace near St. Paul's Cathedral. (This cathedral was burnt down about 22 years later.) But Profs. Vaughan, Masson, and others, think Milton refers to Stationers' Hall ; which seems likely. According to the Edict of the Star-Chamber (see Introduction, p. xxvii.) the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Judges, and other officials were entrusted with the supervision of various kinds of literature. It was a chaplain of the Archbishop who licensed the *Paradise Lost*. For the Stationers' Company and its hostility to Milton, see Introduction.

11. 3. **pure conceit** : perhaps 'undiluted arrogance' (cf. 'lordly imprimatur') ; or else 'exquisitely immaculate idea.' The word **conceit** in older English generally means 'conception,' 'idea,' 'notion,' as in 10. 14.

11. 4. **the language of men ... liberty**. Compare Wordsworth's well-known lines :

'We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spoke, the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.'

11. 8. **ripped up** : laid open, exposed.

11. 17. **no envious Juno ...** : as at the birth of Hercules, when Juno (Hera) sat on the threshold cross-legged, mumbling evil spells. See *Class. Dict.* The story is told by Ovid (*Met.* ix.). Homer (*Iliad*, xix.) tells how Hera outwitted Zeus when he had sworn that a great lord of men should be born to-day, for she hastened the birth of Eurystheus (afterwards the taskmaster of Hercules) and delayed the birth of Hercules, keeping Eileithyia (the midwife-goddess) from his mother Alcmene. According to Ovid, Hera herself was outwitted, but afterwards took revenge. Crossing one's legs or fingers (*digitis inter se pectine junctis*, as Ovid says) was considered of ill omen.

11. 24. **Radamanth**, or Rhadamanthus, and the elder Cretan Minos (sons of Zeus and Europa) together with Aeacus, son of Zeus and Aegina, were celebrated for their justice and piety, and were regarded after their death as the three judges in Hades.

11. 24. **the ferry**: that of the Styx, where Charon was ferry-man.

11. 26. **that mysterious iniquity**: Milton means the Church of Rome. See 2 *Thess.* ii. 7 and *Rev.* xvii. 5.

11. 27. **limbos**. The Lat. *limbus* means the border (of a robe); hence it was used for the borderland of Hell, a region in which unbaptized infants and the wise and good of the heathen (see Dante's *Inferno*, canto iv.) were supposed to await the resurrection. The *Index expurgatorius* was a kind of limbo—a mild form of hell. [Besides this there was a *limbus patrum* of rather a different kind—where saints, martyrs, fathers, etc., were in a state of suspense until the Judgment. Also there was, as well as orthodox limbos, the 'limbo of fools'—a popular conception, of which Milton has made perhaps rather an undignified use in *Par. Lost*, iii. 440 *seq.*]

11. 31. **inquisituriens**: 'longing to be Inquisitors.' The suffix *urire* in Latin makes a verb 'desiderative.' Thus *esurire* means 'to long to eat.'

11. 31. **minorites** are 'lesser brethren,' *Fratri minori*, a name adopted as a sign of humility by Franciscan friars. Milton applies the word contemptuously to the underlings of the Anglican bishops.

11. 32. **these most certain authors**: *i.e.* these authors, as they indubitably are ...

12. 2. The last part of the sentence seems hardly interrogative, though it is thus punctuated in old editions.

12. 9. **alchemy** (from Arabic *al* = 'the,' as in alcohol, algebra, Aldebaran, Algol, etc., and Greek *χυμός*, 'juice') was the old word for which we call chemistry (or chymistry). As all such scientific research was in the dark ages regarded with suspicion, as partaking of the nature of black art, the word (as was also the case with 'astrology' and 'astrologer') fell into disrepute as a scientific term. But here Milton uses it, as we still often use it in metaphors, to denote a chemical process.

12. 10. **Lullius**: Raymond Lully (1235-1313) born at Palma, the chief town of Majorca, was famous for his knowledge of chemistry and medicine. His system was known as the *Ars Lulliana*. Various accounts are given of his death, which probably took place in North Africa, whither he had gone to convert the Moslems.

12. 10. to sublimate, lit. 'to raise' (Lat. *sublimis*=uplifted): *i.e.* to bring a solid body into vapour by means of heat, whereupon it is again condensed into a refined 'sublimated' state.

12. 12. this reason: *i.e.* this argument, or statement of the case.

12. 13. for the tree: on account of, considering, the tree.

12. 15. as was propounded. See p. 4, l. 33. He now proceeds to the second section of his 'homily.'

12. 19. Not to insist... overcome us: a sentence that in its general structure reminds one of the eloquence of a Mrs. Nickelby. The main statement is that 'the question (whether promiscuous reading be lawful and profitable) was sometimes controverted by primitive doctors,' and on to this statement are loosely hitched about a dozen minor clauses. For the learning of Moses and Daniel see *Acts*, vii. 22, and *Daniel*, i. 17.

12. 22. in Paul especially: *i.e.* and this was especially so in the case of Paul.

12. 24. sentences: sayings, saws (Lat. *sententiae*).

12. 24. three Greek poets: viz. the Cretan Epimenides ('The Cretans are always liars, etc.,' *Titus*, i. 12), the astronomical poet, Aratus ('For we are also his offspring,' *Acts*, xvii. 28), and Euripides, or perhaps Menander ('Evil communications corrupt good manners,' 1 *Cor.* xv. 33). In his preface to *Samson Agonistes* Milton ascribes the verse (it is an iambic verse) to Euripides. Others attribute it to Menander, the most distinguished poet of the New Greek Comedy (fl. about 310 B.C.) and an intimate friend of Epicurus.

12. 25. controverted: 'disputed,' 'discussed' (not 'confuted').

12. 28. Julian (Flavius Claudius Julianus), surnamed the 'Apostate,' nephew to Constantine the Great, was Emperor 361 to 363 A.D. He was brought up as a Christian, and studied at Athens together with Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil, but on accession to the imperial throne he declared himself, what he had long been, a pagan. He was killed in battle with Persians. Apostate is a Greek word meaning 'deserter.'

12. 35. two Apollinarii, father and son, were of Alexandria; the son was Bishop of Alexandria. In consequence of Julian's Edict these men (in a few months) produced a Sacred History in 24 books after the manner of Homer, and Christian imitations of Pindar, Euripides, and Menander.

12. 36. the seven liberal sciences were those included in the two classes of educational subjects called the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. The latter consisted of the four mathematical sciences, viz.: Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy. The *trivium* consisted of Grammar, Logic (Dialectic), and Rhetoric.

13. 2. the historian Socrates, called 'Scholasticus,' wrote (in the 5th century) a *History of the Christian Church from 306 A.D.* (where the *Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius* ends) to 439 A.D.

13. 5. with the life of him When Julian died in 363 A.D. Jovian succeeded to the imperial throne, and Julian's decree was repealed. Jovian proclaimed religious toleration.

13. 9. The Emperors Decius (249-251 A.D.) and Diocletian (284-305 A.D.) were noted for their persecution of the Christians. The year 303 A.D. is especially notable on account of the terrible persecution instituted by Diocletian.

13. 9. And perhaps it was ... that A rather loose construction. The fact that the devil whipped St. Jerome could hardly be a drift, though it might be due to a certain drift, or happen with a certain drift. The politic drift was the tendency of diabolic diplomacy to undermine the Church by depriving it of classical learning. Cf.

'to unfold

The drift of hollow states hard to be spelled.'

(*Sonnet xii.*)

13. 10. St. Jerome (about 345-420 A.D.) relates this in a letter to the nun Eustochium. When feverish and reduced by fasting 'almost in the middle of Lent' he dreamt that he was brought up before God's judgment seat, and when he answered that he was a Christian a voice exclaimed that he lied, for he was a 'Ciceronian,' i.e. a lover of Cicero and his philosophy; and he was condemned to be scourged by angels. But Milton gives his reasons for believing it was the devil and not angels.

13. 16. scurril Plautus. The word scurril, or scurrillous, is derived from Lat. *scurra*, a parasite, or 'diner out'—a man who hung about rich patrons in hope of a dinner, and paid for his dinner by his conversation and jests. In Plautus the *scurra* plays an important part. But by scurril Milton here probably means rather 'low,' 'scandalous.' In Jerome's letter to the nun he speaks of taking Plautus into his hands as a relaxation after penance and sleepless nights.

13. 20. Basil was bishop of the Cappadocian Caesarea (about 375 A.D.).

13. 21. Margites: attributed to Homer by Aristotle, Plato, and other ancient writers. Almost the only fragment of it that has survived is a line describing a smatterer: 'Many things he could do, but badly he could do them all.' Besides the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (as to the authorship of which there is great difference of opinion) the ancients often ascribed to Homer the so-called Homeric hymns, the *Battle of the Frogs*, and the *Margites*. But modern critics not only question this—they even question whether Homer ever existed.

13. 22. *Morgante*. The *Morgante maggiore* was written by Luigi Pulci, an Italian poet, towards the end of the fifteenth century. It is full of broad coarse humour, somewhat resembling that of the rather later *Orlando Furioso* by Ariosto.

13. 25. Eusebius (about 265-338 A.D.) was born in Palestine and became bishop of Caesarea about 315 A.D. He was therefore considerably earlier than St. Jerome (about 345-420 A.D.). The epistle of Dionysius here cited is in the 7th book of *Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius* (see on p. 13, l. 2).

13. 26. Eustochium. See on p. 13, l. 10. It was not unusual for women, especially slaves and the like, to have Greek (or Latinized) *neuter* names. Cf. Germ. neuter diminutives as *Gretchen*. Readers of Browning will remember *Balaustion*.

13. 27. Dionysius: bishop of Alexandria about 250 A.D.

14. 4. Prove all things ..., 1 *Thess.* v. 21. The Greek word means to 'make trial of,' 'test.'

14. 6. To the pure ..., *Titus*, i. 15. **not only** ... is, of course, Milton's comment.

14. 10. meats and viands. Why Milton substitutes viands here for the drinks of l. 7, and what difference, if any, there is between meats and viands, I cannot say. Perhaps meats=food, while viands (as Fr. *viande*) are rather what we call 'meat' (flesh).

14. 11. *unapocryphal*: i.e. authentic, unquestioned. The *Apocrypha* is so-called because it is of 'obscure' authenticity.

14. 15. *naughty*: good-for naught, vain. This is, of course, the original sense of the word. Prof. Hales cites 'naughty figs,' *Jeremiah*, xxiv. 3.

14. 17. *concoction*: digestion (from Lat. *concoquere*, to boil together). In his *Tract on Education*, Milton says: 'The like also would not be inexpedient after meat, to assist nature in her first concoction.' Cf. *Par. Lost*, v. 412, 'concoct, digest, assimilate,' and 'concoctive heat' (v. 437).

14. 23. Mr. Selden. For the life and writings (*Titles of Honour, History of Tithes*, etc.) of John Selden (1584-1654) a *History of England* and of *English Literature* should be consulted. He was, together with John Pym and John Hampden, one of the foremost champions of liberty against the Stuarts. By his *History of Tithes* (1618) he greatly offended James I. The work which Milton here mentions is a Latin treatise on the 'Natural and national law of the Jews,' published in 1640. (Two years after Milton's *Areopagitica*, and in the year after Milton's *Divorce Treatises Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion*, Selden published a treatise, *Uxor Ebraica*, on the 'Jewish laws concerning marriage and divorce.')

14. 25. A **theorem** is a proposition laid down for demonstration—some statement that is advanced and for which proofs are adduced; whereas a *theory* is rather a hypothesis put forward in order to account for certain facts. Ordinarily, one would speak of a theorem being mathematically demonstrated, or demonstrable—not demonstrative. Milton seems to mean that the proofs of the theorems are of mathematical certainty.

14. 36. **demeanour**: guidance, conduct (in the active sense).

15. 1. **tabled**: gave laws.

15. 2. The **omer** is only mentioned in *Exodus* (see chap. xvi.). It is estimated at about 1 gallon (some say only $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon). It must not be confused with the *homer* (*Lev.* xxvii.), which is said to have been about 75 gallons.

15. 5. **which enter into** See *Matt.* xv. and *Mark* vii.

15. 6. **uses not to captivate**: is not wont to feter.

15. 12. **much reading** See *Ecclesiast.* xiii. 12.

15. 17. **Ephesian books**. In *Acts*, xix., it is told how, when St. Paul was at Ephesus, the sons of a Jewish itinerant 'high priest' (exorcist) tried to cast out an evil spirit in the name of Jesus, and how the man who was possessed by the evil spirit leaped on them and maltreated them; whereupon 'many of those who had practised curious arts (magic), having brought together their books burnt them in the presence of all.'

15. 22. **is not appointed**: i.e. is given no function or authority.

15. 28. **Psyche**. When Eros (Cupid) fell in love with Psyche (the Human Soul), his mother Aphrodite (Venus) was much angered, and tormented Psyche in many ways. On one occasion, she mixed together in a great heap a quantity of 'wheat, barley, millet, poppy seeds, peas, lentils, and beans,' and bade her sort them all out before evening. The task was performed by ants—'emmetts'—who took pity on Psyche. The story is known to readers of Grimm's *Märchen*. The tale of Cupid and Psyche forms an episode—told by an old woman in a thieves' den—in a queer romance called *The Golden Ass*, by Apuleius (about 150 A.D.). It has been charmingly translated by Edward Carpenter.

15. 35. **to choose**: in choosing. We should choose without wisdom and forbear without real continence. Or perhaps the sense is: 'without the knowledge of evil there can be no wisdom by which to choose nor any real continence to induce us to forbear.'

16. 4. **wayfaring** is the reading of the original edition (1644), but in the later quarto edition it was changed to **warfaring**, and this emendation is supported by the fact that in an old copy of the first edition (now in the British Museum) presented by

Milton to a Mr. Thomson, the *y* has been struck out and *r* written above the erasure, much in the same way as Milton corrected various misprints in his printed version of the *Lycidas*. The word *warfaring* seems better to suit the following sentence. Had the *Pilgrim's Progress* been already in existence, something more might be said in favour of *wayfaring*.

16. 5. *unbreathed*: with its powers of breathing (endurance) as yet untried; or perhaps merely 'a virtue that has never breathed quick through exertion.'

16. 14. *excremental*. The word *increment* (Lat. *incrementum*) is certainly from *increscere*, but *excrement* seems to be from *excernere*, and to have nothing to do with 'growth.' It means something 'separated or sifted out.' (However, Shakespeare uses the word to denote hair, beard, etc., and may have regarded it as equivalent to 'outgrowth.') Here, I think, Milton means a white external crust or deposit.

16. 16. *Scotus*: the celebrated English Franciscan 'schoolman,' Duns Scotus (about 1265-1308), a contemporary of Dante's. He opposed the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, and is said to have attracted 30,000 scholars to Oxford to hear his lectures. This is probably a fable.

16. 17. *Thomas Aquinas* (about 1225-75) was one of the greatest 'schoolmen'—i.e. medieval writers on theological metaphysics. His disciples called themselves 'Thomists.'

16. 18. For the descent of Sir Guion into the Cave of Mammon see the *Faërie Queene*, Bk. II. canto vii. It seems that the Palmer was not with him in the Cave. The Bower of Earthly Bliss will be found in Bk. II. canto xii.

16. 24. *scout*. Cf. 'Scout far and wide into the realm of night, *Par. Lost*, ii. 131.

16. 32. *not nicely*: not fastidiously; plainly, openly.

16. 33. *not unelegantly*: not in a bare curt fashion, but with a certain amount of attractive description.

16. 35. *arguments of Epicurus*. I suppose the allusion is to *Ecclesiastes* and *Job*, and perhaps to some of the *Psalms*.

17. 1. *Talmudist*: one versed in the Talmud, i.e. the great 'Corpus' of Jewish law, tradition, etc., with interpretations by the great Rabbis, Targumists, etc. The original text is the *Chetiv* (=Written), and the marginal interpretations and paraphrases are the *Keri* (=Read). *What ails ...*, i.e. how is it that the strong language of the original so touches the modesty of the commentator. It was a rule given in the Talmud that 'all words which in the law are written obscenely must be changed to more civil words.' In his *Apology for Smec-*

tymnurus, Milton speaks disdainfully of this bowdlerizing of the Old Testament. 'Fools,' he exclaims, 'who would teach men to read more decently than God thought good to write!'

17. 6. **Clement of Alexandria** (2nd century) wrote an Address to the Greeks, in which he exposed the 'heathenish obscenities' of their old religion.

17. 7. **Eusebius** (see on 13. 25) wrote a book on the *Preparation for the Gospel Revelation*, in which he described the state of things in the heathen world before the advent of Christianity.

17. 10. **Irenæus**, bishop of Lyons (A.D. 177). **Epiphanius**, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (367). **Jerome** (Hieronymus): see on 13. 10.

17. 18. **first**: especially.

17. 20. **Petronius** was a favourite of Nero, who made him director of amusements (*Elegantiae Arbiter*) at the Imperial Court. His influence over Nero excited the jealousy of the notorious Tigellinus. He was accused of treason and put an end to his life, like Seneca, and many another of that period. His *Satyricon* (if it be his) is extant. It is full of coarseness. The story of the 'Ephesian Matron,' mentioned by Macaulay, is to be found in it.

17. 22. **ribald of Arezzo**: known as 'Aretino,' was the son (b. 1492) of a citizen of Arezzo, named Bacci. When quite a boy he was banished for a satire against the Church authorities. His impudence and cleverness won him at Rome the favour of the Pope, and afterwards at Milan that of Francis I. and Giovanni de' Medici. In 1526 he settled at Venice, where he composed a quantity of dialogues, sonnets, and comedies—all full of licentious coarseness—as well as 'a few devotional and religious books.' The former were at one time highly prized, especially in France. His satire was so dreaded by his contemporaries that he called himself the 'Scourge of Princes.'

17. 23. **I name not him** This may, perhaps, be Wolsey (who seems to have pandered to Henry's sensuality), but the poet 'Skelton,' who was Vicar, or Rector, of Diss (in Norfolk), and was at one time tutor to Henry, has been proposed; and it is believed that there may be some word-play intended, seeing that 'Dis' is a Latin name of Pluto, the God of Hell. Possibly some descendants of Skelton (or Wolsey?) were known to Milton.

17. 24. **Vicar of Hell** was meant as a parody of the Pope's title, 'Vicar of Christ.'

17. 25. **compendious**: short.

17. 28. **Cataio**, Tennyson's '*Cathay*,' is described as a part of Tartary, and the realm of the great Cham. In *Par. Lost*,

x. 291, Milton speaks of 'the imagined way Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich Cathaian coast.' See also xi. 388. The north-west passage has been made in our days.

17. 29. Spanish : with reference to the Inquisition. Cf. 6. 7.

17. 32. doubtful : full of doubt, *i.e.* what causes hesitancy and alarm ; to be dreaded.

18. 3. to the eunuch. See *Acts*, viii.

18. 6. Sorbonists. The Sorbonne, the great theological College of Paris, derives its name from Robert de Sorbon, confessor to St. Louis (Louis IX.), who founded it in 1252. 'The building,' says Prof. Hales, 'had been splendidly restored, or rather a new building had been raised, by Richelieu, some 25 years before Milton wrote the *Areopagitica*.'

18. 9. Arminius, the Latinized name of the Dutch theologian Harmensen. He was 'perverted,' according to Milton's ideas, by an anti-Calvinistic treatise which he had been asked to confute. The Calvinistic doctrine of predestination is especially denied by Arminians. The High Church party in England, headed by Archbishop Laud, naturally favoured Arminianism as an opponent of Calvinism. Delft, in Holland, is well known for its manufacture of glazed earthenware.

18. 23. cautelous : seems here to mean 'to be guarded against,' *i.e.* dangerous or inadvisable. Cf. doubtful, 17. 32. The late Latin word *cautela* (from *cavere*, to guard against) means 'caution,' and *cautel* in English sometimes means 'deceit,' and *cautelous* is used for 'wily,' 'cunning'; but this can hardly be its sense here. See Shak. *Cor.* iv. i ; *Jul. Cæs.* ii. i ; *Hamlet*, i. ii.

18. 26. pound up. The Ang.-Sax. *pund* means a fold (*pond* is another form of the word) ; hence to pound, or impound, trespassing cattle.

19. 4. from him : *i.e.* from the fool. The argument is that, if we wish to withhold from the fool what may harm him, we shall have to suppress good books rather than evil books, for one is told in the Bible not to cast pearls before swine (*Matt.* vii. 6), but to answer a fool according to his folly (*Prov.* xxvi. 5), because excellent speech becometh not a fool (*Prov.* xvii. 7). Aristotle (*Ethics*, i. 3) says that political science (*i.e.* the science of a well-ordered life) proves useless to him who follows the dictates of passion.

19. 18. want : do without ; dispense with.

19. 24. and hath almost prevented me : *i.e.* and this third point of my argument (see on 4. 32) has almost anticipated my proofs by becoming evident in the course of what I have already said.

19. 26. **ingenuity**: from the Lat. *ingenuus*, well-born, noble, frank (not from *ingenium*, character, cleverness). In this sense we generally use 'ingenuousness.' Here it means an open, fearless frankness.

19. 28. **discourse**: sometimes = the discursive faculty (*διάνοια*), the faculty of reason, as in Shakespeare's 'discourse of reason,' and 'large discourse' (*Hamlet*), but here it is rather the process of reasoning.

19. 33. **return**: reply.

20. 1. **leave us a pattern**: i.e. by refusing to adopt this course they show us what they really thought, namely, that they disapproved of it. Or, perhaps, 'their judgment' means 'their good judgment,' 'their wisdom.' In neither case is the sentence easy to analyse.

20. 4. **his Commonwealth**. In his Dialogue known to us as the *Republic* Plato describes at great length an ideal State. He himself intimates that it is incapable of realisation. He seems to have wished to see what the practical outcome would be when abstract axiomatic truths in regard to Justice, Virtue, etc., were pushed to their logical conclusions. For instance, he is driven to the conclusion that art and poetry should be tabooed or strictly controlled—a very curious example of pure reasoning, for Platonism seems the natural aesthetic converse of Calvinism. Milton is right in regarding the *De Republica* as of little practical value; but there is much in it—as for instance the Parable of the Cave—which is of superlative beauty and power.

20. 5. **the book of his Laws**: the *De Legibus* (*Νόμοι*).

20. 9. **night-sitting**: a 'symposion,' or drinking party. Plato taught in the 'Academia,' a public garden with colonnades, etc., about a mile from Athens. One of his Dialogues gives us a picture of a *Symposion*, at which Socrates, Alcibiades, Aristophanes and other celebrities were present.

20. 10. **no kind ... but by ...**: i.e. no kind but what he tolerated (permitted) by ...

20. 11. **consisting most ...**: i.e. and this learning consisted mostly of traditions of a practical nature, having reference to agriculture, the mechanical arts, etc.

20. 17. **and to no other**. See above on 20. 4.

20. 19. **to be expelled**: i.e. deserving banishment. Scholars should compare what Milton says in his Latin verses *De Idea Platonica*. Plato was not banished, but after the death of Socrates he 'withdrew to Megara, and subsequently visited Egypt, Sicily, and the Greek cities in Lower Italy.' It was not till after his first visit to Syracuse (see on 6. 32) that he began to teach in the Academia. To what Milton refers with his

'wanton epigrams and dialogues' I cannot say, unless it be to the discourses—of wonderful beauty—on love in the *Symposion* and the *Phaedrus*. As Puritan, he was logically right in condemning Plato's imaginative luxuriance, just as Plato himself must have condemned it if he had acted up to his own theories; but there is certainly little or nothing in Plato more open to such objections than certain beautiful and richly-coloured pictures in *Paradise Lost*.

20. 21. **Sophron Mimos** (i.e. writer of 'Mimes,' a species of Dorian Comedy) was a Sicilian poet, who lived about 450 B.C. In his *Apology for Smectymnus*, Milton, after saying that we have no example of an ancient Mime, 'except some fragments, which contain many acute and wise sentences,' tells us that the Mimes of Sophron were 'of such reckoning with Plato as to take them nightly to read on and after make them his pillow.' For **Aristophanes**, see on 6. 19 and 6. 31. Aristophanes is, at all events in general tendency, no more 'of grossest infamy' than Shakespeare.

20. 25. trash seems to be the same as Norwegian *tros*, broken branches, loppings, prunings. In the *Tempest* Shakespeare has 'to trash (i.e. lop) for overtopping.' Sugarcane refuse is 'trash.'

20. 26. **But that....** The construction is, 'Why was he not... but that.' In modern prose one could scarcely begin a new sentence with 'But that.'

21. 2. **to regulate printing, thereby... : i.e.** by regulating printing to rectify.

21. 5. **Doric** : of a martial character. In Greek music (when the tetrachord was in use) there were three 'moods' (*tróvoi*)—some-what like our scales—the Dorian, the Lydian, and the Phrygian. The Dorian mood was used in martial music, the Lydian in soft, voluptuous tunes, and the Phrygian in the wild, loud chants used at revels, orgies, triumphs, etc. In *Par. Lost*, i. 550, Milton describes a phalanx moving 'to the Dorian mood.' (N.B. In *Lycidas* the expression 'Doric lay' means a Sicilian lay, like one of the Idylls of the Sicilian poet Theocritus, and it may be remembered that Milton's friend, the Provost of Eton, commended the 'Doric delicacy' of the *Comus*.) In *L'Allegro* we have 'soft Lydian airs.'

21. 8. **for such... : i.e.** Plato was provided with means to meet such cases. The cases of music and of dancing are discussed in the *Republic*, 398-400.

21. 11. **but must be licensed....** This reminds me of a rumour which I heard once while I was living in Germany: that the police had issued orders for a collar and a 'number' to be worn by nightingales and butterflies.

21. 13. The derivation of **madrigal** (apparently a 'herds-man's song') should be looked up.

21. 14. **balconies**. Milton wrote *balconés*, and doubtless pronounced the word as in Italian, viz. *balcōnē* (*Balco*=timber work; from Germ. *Balken*, a beam. Cf. our *bulks*.) Thus in *John Gilpin* we have:

At Edmonton his loving wife
From the balcony spied....

The poet Rogers, Cowper's contemporary, used to say: *Cóntem-plate* is bad enough, but *bálcōny* makes me sick.

21. 15. **shrewd**: sharp-tongued, mischievous.

21. 15. **frontispieces**. Milton wrote *frontispices*, which is correct; for the word is the late Lat. *frontispicium*, the front-view, façade, of a building (see *Par. Lost*, iii. 507). It has nothing to do with 'piece.'

21. 17. **what lectures** ... : what discourses, or homilies.

21. 18. **rebeck**: probably the Arabic or Moorish *rabab*: a stringed instrument; perhaps the predecessor of the violin.

21. 19. **ballatry**: balladry.

21. 19. **gamut** (Milton wrote *gammuth*), from *Gamma*, the Greek G, which denoted the last note in the scale, and the Lat. *ut*, which formerly denoted the first note in the scale (now *do*). The word thus formed signifies the system of lines and spaces used for musical notation; hence here equivalent to the 'music' from which the fiddler played.

21. 19. **municipal**: here used to mean 'belonging to a *municipium* (i.e. a small country town).'

21. 20. **Arcadias**. The first great 'Arcadia' was a pastoral poem by the Italian Sanazzaro (about 1500). In 1580-1 Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* was written, and was published after his death by his sister, the Countess of Pembroke.

21. 20. **Monte Mayor** was a Portuguese poet. He wrote *Diana Enamorada* in imitation of Sanazzaro's *Arcadia*. It was printed in 1542.

21. 22. **hears ill**: is in ill repute: a classical form of expression (*κλύειν* and *ἀκούειν* in Greek and *audire* in Latin being thus used). Milton uses it again in *Par. Lost*, iii. 7, 'Or hear'st Thou rather ...', i.e. dost thou rather hear thyself named ... Editors give quotations and references to support Milton's accusations. See 'English Epicures,' *Macbeth*, v. iii, and Chaucer's description of the Franklin in the *Prologue*. Nowadays we certainly do not gloat over food, talk about it, and wallow in it so much as many foreigners, but the amount and the cost of it, as regards money, time, and trouble, in a rich British household is something perfectly monstrous.

21. 25. **Our garments** Sumptuary laws regulating the expense of personal attire were not unknown among the Romans, and in England, down to the time of Elizabeth, there were acts and statutes on the subject of apparel.

21. 30. **what presumed**. Professor Hales says: 'what degree of liberty generally may be permitted.' It seems, however, to stand in close connexion with 'discoursed,' and to mean 'what facts and doctrines shall be assumed as true in arguments.' Both subjects and premisses would have to be licensed.

21. 35. **sequester**: withdraw. It was used both actively and intransitively. The participle *sequester'd* is common enough, but the verb is now mostly used as a law term. Cf. *sequesterate*.

21. 36. **Atlantic**. In his *Timaeus* and his *Critias* Plato speaks of a fabulous island in the ocean, which he names Atlantis—a kind of Utopia. Bacon used the name and idea in his *New Atlantis*. For the celebrated *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More see any English Literature. (*Eutopian* is how Milton spelt the word. He may have thought it was *εὐτοπία*, the happy land, whereas it is *οὐτοπία*, the land of Nowhere.)

21. 36. **polities**: states, systems of government.

22. 6. In the fourth book of the *Republic* Plato speaks of such **unwritten laws**, as does also Thucydides in his speech of Pericles. Milton's words should be translated into German and hung up in every German market-place. Professor Hales well cites Horace, *Carm.* iii. 24, which should be looked up by Latinists.

22. 17. **pittance**, i.e. control: lit. allowance, fixed rations, dole, 'size'; originally *pietanza*, charity, i.e. the rations of a monk.

22. 19. **grammercy**: French *grand-merci*; used also as exclamation (see *Ancient Mariner*, 164). Cf. *S. Luke*, vi. 32.

22. 23. **reason is but choosing**. He is thinking of λόγος and the primary sense of λέγω (Lat. *legere*, Germ. *lesen*). It is, of course, impossible, without violence to reason, to hold at the same time two such mutually nullifying doctrines as those of man's free will and of predestination (which seems a necessary consequence of divine Omniscience and Omnipotence). In *Par. Lost*, vi. 854, Milton tells us that God 'checked his thunder in mid-volley,' and did not utterly destroy Satan and his angels, though it was in His power to do so, and to thus annihilate evil. Milton does not attempt to explain how this can be consistent with the idea of divine Goodness, but, accepting the existence of evil, he holds that Adam's doom was to learn good by evil (15. 32). Compare what Raphael says to Adam:

'to stand or fall,
Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.'

22. 25. **motions** : puppet-shows. Shakespeare speaks of 'a motion of the Prodigal Son' (*Winter's Tale*, iv. ii.).

22. 25. **esteem not of** Cf. 'If you like of me' (*Much Ado*).

22. 27. **provoking** : enticing, alluring. Cf. *Heb.* x. 24.

22. 36. **it cannot**, *sc.* be withdrawn.

23. 33. **court-libel**. No doubt, says Holt White, he intended the *Mercurius Aulicus* (Court Mercury), written by Sir John Birkenhead (Reader in Moral Philosophy at Oxford). It was openly Royalist in its tendencies, and indulged in contempt and ridicule against the Parliament and Presbyterian party. It appeared weekly from 1642 to 1645 (and occasionally later), and consisted 'of one sheet, and sometimes more, in quarto.'

24. 15. **that the Commonwealth** ... : in imitation of the formula so well known to scholars, 'Ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat'—used when the consuls were specially empowered to guard the interests of the State.

24. 22. **of Trent**. See 9. 10, 9. 22. **Seville** stands for the Spanish Inquisition, which was formally instituted under Torquemada in this city in 1481. (The Inquisition was first created against the Albigenses. It was finally abolished as late as 1820.)

25. 1. **by the quality** : in respect of, in view of, the qualifications necessary for a licenser.

25. 4. **wafted**. The word (connected with *wave*) seems in older writers always to imply movement through, or over water. Milton probably means 'wafted' across the river, or ocean, which separates prænatal existence from life.

25. 7. **censure** : as in l. 8.

25. 10. **journey-work** : lit. day's work (Fr. *journée*) or rather day-labourer's work (journey-man's task) ; hack-work, drudgery.

25. 15. **would not down**. As in such expressions as 'that'll never go down.' I suppose the idea here is that of swallowing. The omission of the verb is very common in many such phrases, both in English and still more in German.

25. 18. **or is but of** ... : or if only he be a man of taste. **Sensible** in older writers often means what we call *sensitive*. The metaphor is one used frequently by Horace (*Sat.* i. iii. 29 ; iv. 8 ; *Ep.* i. xix. 45, etc.) Here it means a man of judgment and literary discrimination. Cf. Fr. *flair*.

26. 1. **first**. A second point of this last section of the oration comes on p. 29, and an 'in conclusion' on p. 30 ; to which something is added, p. 37. He then (p. 39) begins his peroration by applying his general statements to the special case of the English nation.

26. 7. **dashed**: daunted; taken aback. See *Comus*, 451. Against this argument in favour of sinecures and pluralities and rich ecclesiastical endowments Milton had already written vehemently in his *Animadversions*. See also 32. 24.

26. 10. **hold it ...**: *i.e.* the expression of such opinion.

26. 12. **If therefore ...** This is one of those grand sentences, not uncommon in the latter portion of the *Areopagitica*, which makes one feel severe qualms for having said anything depreciatory about the build of the ordinary Miltonic period, sometimes so weakly bolstered up by half a dozen loosely-attached relative and subordinate clauses. Nothing could be finer in language, construction, or rhetorical climax. In spite of its great length, one follows it to the last word with ease and rising sympathy.

26. 28. **ferula**: lit. 'striker' (Milton wrote wrongly *ferular*; unless it is a misprint). It is the Latin word for the cane or rod used by schoolmasters. Professor Hales states that the old English *ferula* had an oval flat end—the end designed for the victim.

26. 28. **fescue**, or *festu* (Lat. *festuca*, stalk, staff), a wand, staff; especially used of the 'pointer' of a teacher.

26. 30. **theme**: essay, exercise. (The word is still used thus in French and German schools.)

26. 31. **cursory**, *i.e.* glancing through the MS. in a cursory fashion.

26. 32. **temporising**: regarding nothing but temporary interests and the powers that be.

26. 32. **extemporising**: botching up things to satisfy the moment's needs.

26. 34. **and standing to ...**: *i.e.* facing the peril of One who has not hitherto been convicted of ill intentions, and is ready to confront the law, should be allowed freedom of action.

27. 1. **When a man ...** In the original this period runs on for nineteen lines. As the first sentence evidently ends at 'before him,' I have ventured to insert a full stop.

27. 7. **fidelity**: faithful use of his talents.

27. 10. The main statement is: 'If such a man is mistrusted and suspected unless he obtains the approval of a licenser, it is a dishonour to him, his book, and learning.'

27. 11. **Palladian**: learned; Pallas Athene (Minerva) being the goddess of learning, needlework, war, and some other things. The olive was sacred to her; and possibly there may be some connexion between this fact and the fact that the studious need 'midnight oil' for their 'lucubrations.' Ovid indeed used 'Pallas' for lamp-oil: 'As the wakeful flame when Pallas is poured in.'

27. 14. **and, if ...** : *i.e.* and unless, in case of approval, he should be compelled to appear ...

27. 15. **a puny** : a minor, 'infant' (Fr. *puis-né*, which is the original of our word). It really means 'after-born,' *i.e.* a junior rather than a minor. Cf. a 'puisne (junior) judge.' In *Par. Lost*, ii. 367, Satan contemptuously calls the new-born race of men 'the puny inhabitants' of earth—possibly in the original sense of the word.

27. 16. **hand** : as in 25. 14.

27. 17. **idiot** : *i.e.* incompetent to take part in public matters (the original sense of the Greek word). But there is here, perhaps, also a touch of its later meaning.

28. 1. **whenas**. Cf. 3. 5.

28. 2. **patriarchal** : a hit at Archbishop Laud, who was suspected of hankering after the title of Patriarch of the Western Church. (Laud was executed in the year following, viz. 1645.)

28. 3. **hide-bound** denotes an animal, or tree, whose skin, or bark, ceases growing, and prevents a natural development. The idea here seems to be similar to that in Wordsworth's address (in *A Poet's Epitaph*) to the scientific philosopher : 'Sleep in thy intellectual crust.'

28. 4. **humour** was used by doctors to denote a fluid of the body on which the physical and mental state was mainly dependent ; and possibly that is the sense here ; but more probably it means mood, state of mind, as below, l. 28.

28. 4. **When ...** really introduces another clause, as **whenas** above. But the original interrogative sentence has lost itself, and we may regard this **when** as equivalent to 'In such cases.'

28. 5. **pedantic** : such as a schoolmaster might give a 'grammar lad' (26. 30). The word **pedant**, now a 'book-learned prig,' originally meant 'teacher'—being probably a late Latin or Italian derivative from the Greek word *παιδεύειν* (to teach), whereas **pedagogue** (*παῖδα* and *ἄγειν*) means a 'boy leader,' a companion tutor (who was often a slave).

28. 6. **ding** : dash, hurl.

28. 8. **fist**. Taken by Professor Hales to = 'hand' (l. 10), *i.e.* handwriting. The 'fist of an overseer' (not a censor, as in 27. 16) gives one rather the idea of a schoolmaster supplementing the ferula with fisticuffs ; nor do I know whether any other example can be given of 'fist' used in the sense of handwriting—except in modern slang.

28. 16. **Bacon**. The quotation is from 'An Advertisement touching the Controversies in the Church of England,' which Bacon wrote in 1589, but which was not printed until 1640.

'Forbidden writing,' he says, 'is always thought to be certain sparks of a truth that fly up in the faces of those that seek to choke it and tread it out, whereas a book authorized is thought to be but *temporis voces*, the language of the time.'

28. 18. **great jeopardy** ...: i.e. a great hazard (chance, 'toss-up'), in the case of our next set of licensers. That this is the meaning seems plain from 25, 31 *seq.*, 'we may easily foresee what kind of licensers we are to expect hereafter ...' Professor Hales takes it, apparently, to mean 'a great difficulty for his successors'; but the words can scarcely bear this interpretation.

28. 29. Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, published in this year (1644) by David Buchanan, seems to have had many passages expunged, but whether by order of licensers or not is unknown.

28. 30. **pardon him their dash**: let him off their stroke of erasure.

28. 34. **in what book**: perhaps Knox's book above-mentioned. Holt White suggests the posthumous volumes of Coke's *Institutes*, which had been published in 1641.

29. 2. **iron moulds**: rust—mildew (*ferrugo*) or red canker.

29. 10. **steadfast**: confirmed, thorough.

29. 18. **twenty**. See below, l. 29, and cf. 21. 19 and 26, and 33. 20. By the Star Chamber Decree of 1637 (Clauses iii. and iv.), the Chief Justices, Secretaries of State, Earl Marshall, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, and a few others, were empowered to license, either directly or 'by appointment.' In the Order of 1643 the licensers were by no means such important personages, and were more numerous. 'For divinity,' says Mr. Osborn, 'there were twelve ministers of no great eminence; for law, four sergeants-at-law; for physic, five members of the College of Physicians; for heraldry, one of the Kings-at-arms; for philosophy, history, poetry, etc., Sir N. Brent and two masters of St. Paul's School; for mathematics, the Reader of Gresham College; and for pamphlets, the clerk to the Stationers' Company.' This list shows twenty-seven. Milton's 'twenty' is near enough for his argument. (There were twenty Master Printers licensed by the Star Chamber Decree. See Clause xv., given by Prof. Hales.)

29. 21. **their manual stamp**: their signature; official authorisation. Cf. 10. 19.

29. 23. **tickets**: probably receipts given by the buyer on credit. Mr. Osborn quotes from Heylin: 'They went on ticket for want of ready money.' (Hence our slang 'on tick.') The words 'ticket' and 'etiquette' are identical.

29. 23. **statutes** : 'securities given for debts contracted by the purchase of merchandise' (Holt White). Generally a more formal and important affair than a 'ticket,' and of the nature of a 'bond'—such as Shylock's. In *Rich. II.* (v. 2) we have 'some bond that he has entered into for gay apparel.'

29. 23. **standards** : legal prescriptions as to weight, measure, etc.

29. 24. **staple** means a post, a fixed market-place or emporium. See Dict. Professor Hales quotes from Blackstone: 'which were styled the staple commodities of the kingdom, because they were obliged to be brought to those ports where the king's *staple* was established, in order to be there first rated and then exported.' These goods were especially wool, cloth, and leather. When rated they were 'staple'—i.e. legalised, chartered—commodities.

29. 27. **not to be allowed** ... See 1 *Samuel*, xiii.

30. 8. **for if we so jealous** ... is apparently what Milton wrote—if it is not due to a misprint. Professor Hales refers to Jamieson's *Scotch Dictionary* for the use of *jealous* as a verb. Most editions read, 'if we be so jealous....'

30. 12. **the pipe** : i.e. a pipe used by doctors for feeding a patient too weak to swallow.

30. 16. **nor that neither** : i.e. nor does it even that. Such double negatives are common in older English writers, as in Greek.

30. 24. **be ... frequented with** : i.e. that those who frequent their churches should be still so unprincipled, etc. Notice **Ministers** in this paragraph. Presbyterianism was the recognised religion since the Solemn League and Covenant (1643), though it was not legally constituted till the abolition of Episcopacy by the Westminster Assembly a few years later.

30. 25. **laic**, a form of 'lay,' nearer the original Greek word *λαϊκός*, 'pertaining to the people'—as opposed to clerical—hence unclerkly, unlearned, ungrounded in religious knowledge.

30. 26. Cf. *Ephes.*, iv. 14, and *Jude*, 12.

30. 26. **them** .. **their** refers to the congregations, whereas the preceding **them** .. **they** refers to the Ministers.

30. 30. **they** : i.e. their hearers.

30. 35. **enceiridion** : a Greek word meaning something easily carried in the hand, i.e. a note-book, hand-book, and also a small dagger. Milton here plays on the double meaning. The most famous *Encheiridion* is the Manual of the Precepts of Epictetus, the slave-philosopher.

30. 35. **the castle of St. Angelo** : the huge Mole, or Mausoleum, of Hadrian, in later times rebuilt and used by the Popes as a

fortress, and a refuge, and named the castle of St. Angelo from a winged figure on its summit. The sense is 'without the protection of a papal Imprimatur.' See on 10. 19 and 22.

31. 5. **when I have sat**... : *i.e.* during his visit to Italy in 1638-9. He describes this visit in his *Defensio Secunda*. Details may be found in Masson and other biographers. See *Intro.* i.

31. 10. **that this was**... : *i.e.* saying that this was ...

31. 11. **that nothing**... : so that nothing ...

31. 14. **Galileo** was born in the same year as Shakespeare, viz. 1564. In 1638 he was therefore 74 years old. His imprisonment at that period was apparently not very strict. He died in 1642 before Milton wrote these words. The story of Galileo and his famous *e pur si muove* is too well known to recount here. Notice that Milton used the old Ptolemaic system (modified) for poetical purposes (in his *Paradise*), although he no doubt accepted the motion of the earth round the sun. See *Par. Lost*, viii. 122 *seq.*, and iv. 591.

31. 20. **those Worthies**... The members of the Long Parliament and specially such leaders as Pym, Hampden, Selden, Essex, Lord Falkland, and others—not forgetting Oliver Cromwell.

31. 22. **such a deliverance**... Cf. 2. 5 *seq.*

31. 27. **in time of Parliament**. There had been many and sometimes long periods during which Parliament had not sat. After the dissolution in 1629 Charles I., abetted by Laud and Wentworth, for eleven years kept up the show of an absolute monarchy. In 1640 he was forced to summon a Parliament (the 'Short') which sat less than a month. In November of the same year the 'Long' met. See on 3. 10.

31. 30. **if without envy** : if I may say so without exciting ill-feeling—without seeming arrogant. It is the Lat. *sine invidia*.

31. 31. **honest quæstorship**. Cicero held the office of quæstor (an official of finance) at Lilybaeum in Sicily in B.C. 75, and made himself respected and popular. Two years later Verres was made governor (pro-prætor) in Sicily, and for three years desolated the island by his extortions. When his term of office was over, the Sicilians resolved to indict him, and they committed the case to Cicero, who composed for the purpose his famous Verrine orations, only one—or perhaps two—of which he found necessary to use; for Verres was overwhelmed by evidence and left Rome suddenly, as happened with Catiline some years later.

32. 9. **and that we** : *i.e.* and in case we ...

32. 11. **every leaf**: an evident word-play. Milton's worst offences in this line are perhaps to be found in Satan's and Belial's 'gamesome' speeches before the dislodging of their new-invented artillery (*Par. Lost*, vi.).

32. 12. **little better than silenced**: *i.e.* Presbyterian ministers—and those too 'of no great eminence' (29. 18)—who had only shortly before been scarcely allowed to preach at all.

32. 15. **a second tyranny**. See 2. 6 for the first tyranny—that of the Stuarts and Prelacy.

32. 16. **that Bishops ...**: or, as he expressed it two years later in his *New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament*: 'New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large' (*Priest* being a short form of the Greek word *πρεσβύτερος*, elder). See Introduction. In his *Prelatical Episcopacy* Milton tried, as was done by other Puritans, to prove that the biblical 'episcopos' and the 'presbuteros' were identical. Here of course the point of his assertion is quite different.

32. 21. **whenas**. Cf. 3. 5.

32. 24. **a mystical pluralist**: 'a pluralist,' says Mr. Osborn, 'in a secret, intangible way, in a metaphorical sense.' I suppose Milton meant that the combination of Presbyterian country pastor with Archbishoppal Licenser was monstrous, and incomprehensible.

32. 25. The claims of the Bishops to the 'Sole right of ordination,' and the 'Sole right of spiritual jurisdiction' had been already assailed by Milton in his Tracts. He here contrasts such anti-prelatical zeal, aroused at the episcopal 'sole right' in the case of the ordination of an new-fledged B.A., with the assumption by such zealots of 'sole right' and 'sole jurisdiction' in the matter of licensing books.

32. 29. **Covenants**: in special allusion to the 'Solemn League and Covenant' between the Parliament and the Scotch, signed in the previous year. A *Protestation*, says Prof. Hales, was signed by Commons and Peers in 1641 to uphold the protestant religion and the freedom of Parliament, etc. Perhaps Milton alludes to the Grand Remonstrance of the same year.

32. 31. **chop**: barter, exchange (A. Sax. *ceápan*, Germ. kaufen, Engl. chaffer, chapman, cheap, etc.). As intransitive we use it of wind 'chopping round.'

32. 33. **Palace Metropolitan**. See on 10. 33. The Archbishop of Canterbury was 'Metropolitan and Primate.'

32. 34. **commuting**: *i.e.* by paying a sum of money for a dispensation from fasting, penance, etc.

33. 11. **politic drift**. Cf. 13. 9. We speak also of a 'politic move.'

33. 12. **that** ... This is what was contrived—the object of the politic drift.

33. 12. **baited down**: baited to death (or to abrogation). Bear-baiting, common in the Elizabethan age, was not extinct, though illegal, at this time.

33. 14. **it was** ... This is what people said. In English it is not so easy to clearly denote such *dicta* as it is in Latin with the *oratio obliqua*, or in German with the use of the subjunctive. The interrogative permeating the whole sentence makes it also very awkward.

33. 22. **the Parliament yet sitting**. Cf. l. 14 and see on 31. 17.

33. 23. **Although** ... : *i.e.* 'And all this happens although ...' In modern English we might begin such a sentence with 'And yet,' but hardly with 'Although.'

33. 29. **Viscount St. Albans**. See on 28. 16.

33. 32. **a nursing mother**. See *Isaiah*, xlix. 23. Prof. Hales gives a very long note on *step-dame* (I doubt whether *step*, Germ. *stief*, means 'bereft') and many well-known examples of the view that the Greeks and Romans took of the stepmotherly relation. (A student should look up *noverca* and *μητρικά*.)

33. 34. **disenabling**. See on 5. 3.

33. 34. **first** ... Afterwards, as the second point, he shows how injurious the order will be to the search after truths not yet discovered.

34. 2. **complexion** in older writers means what we call 'constitution, or 'temperament.'

34. 5. **in the truth**: *i.e.* (as l. 8) though his belief be true.

34. 7. **Assembly**: the supreme ecclesiastical court of the Presbyterians. In the previous year (1643) an Assembly had begun its sittings at Westminster. It soon afterwards voted the abolition of Episcopacy and the substitution of the 'Directory' for the Prayerbook. These measures were confirmed by Parliament.

34. 12. **of Protestants** : a 'partitive' genitive, such as one has in Latin and Greek and French (il y'a des protestants). **Professors**: here said to mean Puritans, as being open 'professors of religion.'

34. 13. **arrant** is perhaps from A. Sax. *earg*, bad, cognate with Germ. *arg*. Dictionaries, however, suggest Lat. *errans*, 'wandering, vagabond, worthless.'

34. 13. **implicit faith** is a faith that one has accepted unreservedly without any act of reason, and holds without mental conviction or any conscious need for explicit formulation and expression.

34. 13. lay Papist. In his *Likeliest Means* Milton describes a 'lay Papist' as the 'vassal' of his priest. A layman, Milton supposes, being even more ignorant and more dependent than a priest, is even more hopelessly fanatic.

34. 13. Loretto : near Ancona ; one of the most famous centres of medieval superstition. For the Santa Casa of Loretto and other wonders consult an Encyclopaedia.

34. 16. piddling. Prof. Hales suggests connexion with French *petit*. *Petty* = *petit*, but surely *piddling* is merely a form of 'peddling.' To 'peddle' is to deal in small-wares, trifles (Germ. *Kram*). For derivation consult Dict.

34. 16. that of all mysteries ... : i.e. that this is the only trade of all crafts (professions) in which he is not skilful enough to keep a stock in hand. The word should perhaps be spelt *mesteries*, as it may be the Italian *mestieri* (Fr. *métiers*, Lat. *ministeria*). In Chaucer (*Prol.* 613) we have *mester* = trade. But possibly the word 'mystery' was used of trade secrets, hence handicrafts. Cf. 'so apt in regal arts and regal mysteries' (*Par. Lost*, iii. 248). In his application of the word to the Roman Church Milton seems to mean 'arts,' 'trickery.' See 11. 26 and 37. 14.

34. 19. bear up : keep up, keep abreast. The questions whether *does* is the auxiliary or not, and whether *resolves* or *resolve* is more correct, may be referred by the student to competent authorities on such subjects.

34. 27. commendatory : (now used as adjective only) = commendation.

34. 29. a dividual movable : something separable and removable. I think 'movable' is here a subst. and = *meuble* (a chattel) as distinguished from real religion, which is, so to speak, 'real property' (*immeuble*). In *Par. Lost*, xii. 82, 'dividual being' = separate existence, whereas in vii. 382, the moon is said to hold her reign dividual (shared) with thousand lesser lights.

34. 34. malmsey : 'Old Engl. *malvesie* (Chaucer), Fr. *malvoisie*, from Napoli di Malvasia in the Morea, whence it originally came' (*Imp. Dict.*). It was a strong, sweet, light-coloured wine. Its place has been mostly taken by Madeira wine. The word will remind the reader of a certain tragic episode in English History.

34. 36. green figs. *Matth.* xxi., and *Mark*, xi.

35. 3. without his religion. It is perhaps an impertinence for an ordinary mortal to commend Milton, but I cannot help expressing the opinion that this last paragraph ('Well knows he ... religion') is about the finest and most memorable bit of satire in all literature. It is like the sword of Michael in its wide efficacy.

35. 7. Publicans. The Roman *publicani* were men, sometimes of high rank, to whom the government let the farming of public taxes. This is the meaning of the word here, and in the English Version of the New Testament. Tunnage and poundage (from ls. 6l. to 3s. on the tun of wine, and 6d. to ls. on each pound worth of other goods) were the custom-duties at this time. Together with 'ship-money,' these custom duties, illegally levied by the King, were one of the immediate causes of the fall of Charles I.

35. 24. Hercules' pillars : the rocks of Calpe and Abyla on the two sides of the Straits of Gibraltar, according to the legend set up by Hercules when he reached the Ocean in his quest for the oxen of Geryones. Hence often metaphorically for the utmost limit, furthest point.

35. 26. There were Latin and other Concordances (See Encyclopaedias) before Cruden's, which was published in 1737.

35. 26. Topic folio=commonplace book (τόποι=Lat. *communes loci*= 'commonplaces,' i.e. trite sayings, citations, memoranda).

35. 27. graduateship ; course of reading for a university degree.

35. 28. a Harmony : a synopsis of the four Gospels (Diatessaron), in which apparently incongruous accounts are 'harmonized.'

35. 28. a Catena : a 'chain' of extracts arranged in sequence for the sake of systematic proof. The *Catena Aurea* of Thomas Aquinas (see 16. 18) was the most famous of these theological 'Chains.'

35. 29. attended with the uses... : accompanied by comments on the uses and reasons of the various dogmas and forms, and the distinguishing marks of the true 'professor' of religion, and the orthodox means of grace. This is the best that I can make out of the words. Editors avoid them.

35. 33. might furnish him : i.e. he might be excellently well furnished to perform more than his duty of preaching once a week, to say nothing of the help afforded him by translations, etc. The sentence ('It is ... gear') is one in which it is not easy to avoid losing one's path. The main assertion is that many a leisured incumbent feels inclined to do a little reading, theological if nothing better, and even such scrappy reading, if properly digested, would be of great profit to him. The subject to *might* is perhaps *he* understood ; i.e. 'he might furnish himself,' but both here and in l. 11 (where neither 'I' nor 'these dispositions' can well be the subject) it seems to be a kind of impersonal construction, *might furnish him* being thus equivalent to *he might be furnished*. Some editors place no comma after *meditation*, but do not say how the sentence is to be taken.

35. 35. **interlinearies**: text-books interlined with a translation.

35. 35. **breviaries**: abstracts, epitomes, abridgements (see derivation). The R.C. Breviary is the concise prayer-book containing the prayers to be recited daily, at the seven canonical hours.

35. 36. **synopses**: pl. of *synopsis*, a Greek substantive, meaning a 'general view.' See on 35. 28.

35. 36. **loitering**: perhaps 'only fit for lazy people,' or 'idle, trifling,' as opposed to real literature. Thus in the *Smectymnuus* he speaks of 'loitering books and interlineary translations.'

35. 36. **gear**: stuff, tackle, rubbish (Germ. *Zeug*, Ital. *roba*).

36. 2. **our London trading St. Thomas** The sense seems to be that certain marts within the precincts ('hallowed limits') of certain London churches were as fully stocked with printed and piled-up sermons as with any other wares. It is of course true that markets and shops were to be found, especially in the open spaces around large churches (*e.g.* St. Paul's Cathedral), but which church of St. Thomas Milton means (probably burned down in 1666), and why he calls it 'our London trading St. Thomas,' and what is the meaning of 'in his vestry,' no one knows. The church of St. Martin le Grand was rebuilt after the great fire. No church of St. Hugh is known to have existed in London. Mr. Osborn guesses that 'certain of the London clergy sold their sermons in the vestries of their churches;' another editor (Mr. Lobb) guesses that **vestry** here means a clothes-market.

36. 7. **impaled**: defended by stockades. Prof. Hales quotes *impalement* in this sense from Milton's *Reason of Church Government*. An apter reference is to *Par. Lost*, vi. 553, where we have 'impaled (*i.e.* provided as with stockades) on every side with shadowing squadrons deep.' See my note *ad loc.*

36. 8. **back door**. The metaphor is that of a castle-fortress with its postern secured by a 'rigid' portcullis.

36. 10. **it will concern him**: it will prove necessary for him Milton, of course, approves of the fact that the minister will be obliged to keep a good watch.

36. 16. **And God send** : *i.e.* And God grant that our fear of such praiseworthy watchfulness do not make us adopt the lazy, cowardly, system of licensing in vogue with the Roman Church. Prof. Hales reads **fend**, and gives a long note on the word. I suppose he takes the sense as 'God forfend it, or defend us, so that ...' The **not** after the **God fend** might also perhaps be explained as a Greek construction. But possibly the real explanation is that an old-fashioned long s has been mistaken for an f. He explains it as 'forfend, defend.'

36. 20. *guiltily*, *i.e.* with a consciousness that we are hypocrites; insincerely. Editors cite 'who hold the truth in unrighteousness' (*Rom.* i. 18); but there seems here no question of a sinful life; moreover, to say that sinfulness 'becomes not' is putting it rather too mildly. The argument seems to be that, 'if we and those we teach are sincere seekers after truth we cannot object to hear the opinion of a man who is perhaps quite as learned and conscientious as those from whom we have received our forms of belief.' See below on l. 36.

36. 29. *Christ urged it* ... *S. John*, xviii. 19.

36. 34. *imputed*: set down as the cause ascribed. Nowadays one would more naturally say, 'to what can it be imputed?'

36. 35. *disinured*. Cf. *disexercise*, 5. 3.

36. 36. *what we seem to know*. The distinction that Milton makes between 'seeming to know' and truly knowing reminds one of many passages in Plato (and also of some in the Pauline epistles), and must be borne in mind if we wish to understand his argument. If we are—in the true sense of the words—'sure that we are in the right,' we are sure that the truth is our one object, and we are therefore always ready to throw aside the husks of old opinion and welcome the new bud of a higher knowledge.

37. 1. *For how much* ...: *i.e.* as to how much ...: the preposition *for* is often thus used by Milton. But perhaps it is the conjunction; in which case the argument is: 'I have stated now the whole matter, for the case of the licensers is merely one of particular application of my general assertion.'

37. 9. *plot*. Cf. 'Your plots and packing worse than those of Trent' (*New Forcers*).

37. 12. *richest merchandise*. Cf. *S. Matth.* xiii. 45.

37. 14. *mystery*. See ll. 13, and 26, and on 34. 16.

37. 17. *Alcoran*: from *al* = 'the' as in 'algebra,' 'alchemy,' etc., and *Koran* = 'Reading'; *i.e.* 'Book.' Similarly 'Bible' = 'Book.' Printing was not allowed in Turkey till 1723, and newspapers first appeared in 1831 (Lobb and Osborn).

37. 24. *mortal glass*: with allusion to *1 Cor.* xiii. 12.

37. 25. *beatific vision*: the near vision of God 'face to face,' such as Dante in his *Paradiso* describes. This vision is supposed to confer supremest beatitude on saints and angels. See *Par. Lost*, iii. 60.

37. 31. The legends of 'Typhon' (our 'Typhoon'), as the Greeks named him, are very curious. He is described as a monster of the primitive world, probably a personification of some great volcanic outburst. (For Typhoeus as distinguished from Typhaon, and their respective progenies, etc., see *Class. Dict.*) According to one legend, he (or Typhoeus) attempted to become

King of Gods and men, but Zeus subdued him with his thunderbolts. Another version of the story says that in fear of him the Olympian Gods took refuge in Egypt and turned themselves into animals—hence the animal deities of Egypt! The Egyptian (and probably original) form of the legend (told by Plutarch) is that Typhon, brother to 'the good Osiris,' murdered him and cut his body into pieces and threw them into the Nile. Here Isis found the mangled remains of her husband, and with the help of her son Horus overthrew Typhon.

37. 36. **careful**: perhaps = 'sad,' 'anxious.'

38. 6. **feature** (Lat. *factura*, 'make'), as Lat. *facies*, is sometimes used of the whole body.

38. 9. **obsequies**: funeral rites—here the collecting of the scattered limbs of Truth. Why Prof. Hales tells us that it means here 'acts of worship' I cannot say.

38. 11. **it smites us**. The metaphor of being blinded by excess of light in gazing too directly at Truth, and of turning our eyes towards its light reflected on natural objects, is one used by Plato in his Allegory of the Cave, and by Goethe in the beginning of *Faust*, Part ii.

38. 13. **combust**: lit. 'burnt up'—said of a planet when it is, as viewed from the earth, so near the sun ($8\frac{1}{2}$ degrees is the theoretical distance) that it becomes invisible, or its light is quenched. Venus and Mercury are the planets that Milton means. They can be 'combust' when on the other side of the sun, or between us and the sun. In the case of a 'transit,' the planet is not invisible, though its light is quenched. In Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* there is an amusing statement. 'Guianerius,' he says, 'had a patient who could make Latin verses when the moon was combust, otherwise illiterate.' The moon can only be 'combust' when, hid in her vacant interlunar cave, she is somewhere between us and the sun, and, as also in the case with Venus and Mercury, she becomes almost invisible in this position because she loses her reflected sunlight, as well as because that little light she still possesses is 'combust.' When she crosses exactly between us and the sun a solar eclipse is caused—and then she is visible enough, though her light is quenched.

38. 16. **evening or morning**. When Venus (or Mercury) is, as viewed from our northern hemisphere, to the left of the sun, it sets after the sun and is the 'evening star'; when it is to the right, it rises before the sun and is the 'morning star.' In his *Lycidas* (l. 30) Milton seems to state that the 'evening star' (the first draft of the line gives 'the ev'n starre bright') rises about sunset, whereas it is of course never very far (48 degrees

at most) from the sun. See also my note to *Lycidas*, l. 168, as to Milton's ideas about the evening and the morning star.

38. 23. **economical**: relating to the management of private life; domestic. The modern sense expresses the *result* of good housekeeping.

38. 24. **Zuinglius**: Zwingli, the Zürich reformer (1484-1531). **Calvin**, the Genevan reformer (1509-1564). The argument is that if we do not reform these serious abuses it proves that we have been blasted with excess of light (see above l. 11).

38. 25. **beaconed up**: set up, or lighted up as a beacon.

38. 31. **Syntagma**: a Greek word meaning 'something drawn up,' *i.e.* a pandect, or summary (here of a man's pet doctrines).

38. 36. **homogeneal**: 'of the same nature (organism) throughout.'

38. 36. **proportional**; each part having a certain relation to every other and to the whole.

Thus every new-discovered 'dissevered' piece of Truth can be fitted in at once in its proper relation to the rest, and will become assimilated. The metaphor reminds one a little too strongly of stories about dissevered fingers, ears, or noses being grafted—sometimes on new owners.

39. 1. Prof. Hales quotes from Barnard Smith's Arithmetic to prove that the 'rule of three' is often called the 'Golden Rule.' It may not be exactly this method—that of discovering the fourth term in a numerical proposition—that Milton here means, but almost all deduction from the known to the unknown is really of the nature of the Rule of Three, *i.e.* it uses that proportion, or relation, between things of the senses, or of the intellect, on which, according to Pythagoras, the existence of all natural things, as of numbers, depends.

39. 5. **Lords and Commons** ... Here Milton begins his peroration. He has ended the formal argument (see on 4. 32) with its four principal sections, and now applies his conclusions, and makes appeals to national and other sympathies.

39. 13. **even the school of Pythagoras** ... This absurd idea seems to have been started by Lipsius, who says that he 'does not know whether the Druids learned the doctrine of transmigration of souls from Pythagoras or whether he learnt it from them'; and he refers to Clement of Alexandria, who asserts that Plato and Pythagoras derived most of their noblest doctrines from barbarians. Prof. Hales tells us that there is an old building at Cambridge, now known as Merton Hall, and 'devoted to the service of lady students,' which from at least the 16th century has been known traditionally as 'Pythagoras school.'—Between the 16th century and the age of Pythagoras is a far cry; but,

although Pythagoras may not have received the wisdom of the Druids exactly on that spot, Milton may possibly have heard of this Pythagoras' school, when he was at Cambridge—so the fact of its existence is interesting. As for the Persian wisdom, Milton alludes to a rather vague expression of the elder Pliny (*Nat Hist.* xxx. 4) to the effect that Britain in his day honoured learning so highly that 'it might seem to have bestowed it on the Persians.'

39. 15. **civil**=cultivated. See on 3. 18.

39. 16. **Agricola** was pro-consul (governor) in Britain from 78 to 84 A.D., during the reigns of Vespasian (70-79), Titus, and Domitian (81-96). Tacitus, the celebrated historian, was Agricola's son-in-law, and wrote his life. In this work he says that Agricola introduced the policy of educating the sons of the British nobles, and placed a higher value on the natural talents of the Britons than on the book-learning of the Gauls (*ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre*).

39. 19. **Transylvanian**. This statement of Milton's does not seem to be definitely confirmed by any other writer, but we know that during the earlier period of the Thirty Years' War (which had been already going on for 26 years when Milton wrote these words) Transylvania, under its prince Bethlem-Gabor, was active on the Protestant side, and it is quite possible that Transylvanian theologians may have visited the English Universities, as England was not embroiled in the war and was at this time ultra-Protestant. It seems very likely that Milton may have met some of these Transylvanians during his intimacy with the Pole Hartlib, to whom he addressed his *Tract on Education*, written only a few months before the *Areopagitica*.

39. 20. **Hercynian wilderness**. This is a rhetorical misuse of the old name 'Hercynian Forest' (*Hercynia Silva*) which the Romans gave to all the hilly forest lands of south and central Germany. The name still exists in the words Harz and Erzgebirge, and the word Wald (forest) still exists where there is now no forest. **Transylvania** means the land 'beyond the forest.' In Milton's day the 'Hercynian wilderness' was on the whole quite as civilised as England. Two centuries before Milton the art of printing had originated and made great progress in this Hercynian wilderness (Mainz and Strasburg are on the borders of the Odenwald and Schwarzwald) while there was as yet—and for a good many years afterwards—no printing in England.

39. 24. **propending**: 'inclining towards,' whereas **propense** is 'inclined towards.'

39. 26. **before any other**. He refers of course to Wyclif (d. 1384). Huss was burnt near Constanx on the Bodensee, in 1415, and Jerome (Hieronymus) of Prag at the same place in

1416. (The spot where the two Bohemian reformers were burnt is now marked by a great stone block, called the Husenstein). 'Blow ye the trumpet in Zion' is from *Joel* ii. 1. Students might look up the passages of similar import in Milton's *Tractate of Reformation in England*.

39. 35. **demeaned**. See on 14. 36, and Cf. Chaucer's (*House of Fame*, ii. 417).

'To let a fool have governance
Of things that he cannot demaine.'

40. 10. **mansion house** : i.e. fixed home, dwelling-place (Lat. *manere*, to remain).

40. 13. **plates and instruments** : armour and weapons. In this year the battles of Marston Moor and Newbury were fought, and in the following year Charles suffered decisive defeat at Naseby.

40. 22. **towardly** : tractable, easily cultivated.

40. 24. **more than five months** . . . Milton altered the four months of the original (*S. John*, iv. 35) to five perhaps because the *Areopagitica* was published in November. The mixture of literal fact and metaphor, which in the original is of striking beauty, seems here spoilt by the interpolation of 'there need not be five weeks.' Why 'five weeks'? Why not just as well 'five days'? And what is this approaching Reformation which might burst forth within five weeks, if not suppressed by the licensing Order? Prof. Hales speaks of the new modelled army and the campaign of 1645. But Milton has just been carefully distinguishing, and soon after (p. 42) distinguishes again, the higher intellectual movement from mere war-activity.

41. 1. **diligences** : anxieties, watchful cares. Cf. 36. 16.

41. 10. **but that** (Lat. *quin*) is nowadays generally replaced by the simple 'that.'

41. 10. **Pyrrhus**, king of Epirus, invaded Italy and defeated the Romans with great slaughter at Heraclea, in B.C. 280. Five years later he was routed by the Romans at Beneventum. It was after the battle of Heraclea that he is said to have exclaimed (according to a historian, Florus, who lived about 400 years later), 'O how easy it were for me to gain the empire of the world with the Romans as my soldiers, or for the Romans with me as their king!' See Milton's Sonnet to the younger Vane.

41. 21. **continuous** is 'organically one,' 'homogeneous' (38. 36), like Truth itself; **contiguous** means touching but not organically one. Cf. the use of *discontinuous*, applied to a wound. *Par. Lost*, vi. 329.

41. 24. **moderate varieties** : i.e. differences held with charitable moderation; but it apparently also means 'not excessively

great'—not vastly disproportional, not so vast as to mar the harmony of the proportions. Cf. 'disproportioned sin' (*At a Solemn Music*).

41. 32. glorious wish. See *Numbers* xi. 27-29, and cf. above, 40. 23.

42. 7. maniples: Lat. *manipulus*, a 'handful' of men; hence a 'company,' a small division of the Roman 'legio.'

42. 14. as it were besieged.... Two years before, late in 1642, Milton had written his Sonnet entitled *When an assault was intended to the city*; and at that time (before and after the battle of Edgehill) there had been real danger of an assault or a siege. Men, women, and children had been employed in building fortifications and digging 'suburb trenches.'

42. 21. even to a rarity...: i.e. and that too with rare and admirable ingenuity.

42. 25. derives itself to: the equanimity shown by the people leads by a natural transition to contempt for the enemy.

42. 28. bought that piece.... This story is told by Livy (xxvi. 11), who adds that Hannibal retorted by putting up for sale the prospective ownership of the silversmiths' shops in the Roman forum.

42. 29. at no cheap rate. Livy says 'the price having been no wise on that account decreased.'

42. 32. not only to vital...: i.e. not only in regard to, or for the exercise of, vital (physical), but also rational (intellectual) powers.

42. 34. pertest: sprightliest, most nimble. (From Lat. *apertus*, open, wide-awake? Cf. *malapert*. Or a form of 'perk,' 'perky'? The Welsh claim the word.)

42. 36. sprightly up: aroused in such a sprightly fashion. One may regard *sprightly* as an adverb or an adjective. With this use of *up* cf. on 25. 15.

43. 10. her invincible locks: borrowed from the story of Samson (*Judges* xvi.). In his *Reason of Church Government* (towards the end) Milton had already made a much fuller use of the image.

43. 11. mewing: moulting; here used as transitive verb, i.e. 'renewing.' To *mew* is the Lat. *mutare* (to change), Ital. *mudare*, Fr. *muer*, Germ. *sich maussen*. It was used of course in medieval times especially in regard to the hawks and falcons that were kept for hunting purposes. The words 'mews' meaning 'stables' is said to be derived from some royal stables built on the site of the royal 'mews,' i.e. cages in which the king's hawks were confined when 'mewing.' In Dante's description of the prison of Ugolino the word *muda*, a mewing place, is used.

43. 14. **noise ... flutter about.** Notice the plural verb, the word *noise* being here equivalent to a 'noun of multitude.' Mr. Osborn reminds us of the crows and the eagle in Pindar (*Ol.* 2).

43. 17. **a year of sects** This is rather a sudden drop from the imaginative flight of the preceding lines; and the picture of timorous birds fluttering round a moulting eagle and prognosticating sects and schisms is a little mixed. And why 'a year'? Prof. Hales suggests that Milton is 'thinking of the almanack-makers and their prophecies.' This seems rather far-fetched.

43. 20. **twenty engrossers.** See 21. 9 and 16, etc., and 9. 11. An *engrosser* means one who gets a monopoly by buying up large quantities and thus commanding the market. Similarly these twenty licensers were allowed a kind of monopoly in books.

44. 6. **more erected.** Cf. *Par. Lost*, i. 668:

'Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell
From heaven,'

and *Par. Reg.* iii. 25 seq.:

'glory, the reward
That sole excites to high attempts, the flame
Of most erected spirits.'

44. 7. **exactest:** nearest absolute truth; or nearest perfection.

44. 10. **that fathers may despatch** By Roman law a father possessed the *patria potestas* i.e. the right of scourging, imprisoning, enslaving, and even putting to death his own children (even adopted children). In early times this right was not unfrequently exercised. (The case of Brutus and his sons was different, as Brutus was consul.) In later times it seldom occurred that a father claimed this jurisdiction over the life of his children, but the law was not finally abrogated until 318 A.D.

44. 12. **coat and conduct.** Coat-money (or simply 'cote') and conduct-money were the names of taxes imposed by the king for clothing his troops and for the expenses of their conveyance. These taxes, which had become obsolete, were revived by Charles I.

44. 12. **his four nobles** A *noble* was worth 6s. 8d. The allusion is evidently to John Hampden's refusal to pay ship-money. The amount for which he was sued was really *three* nobles (20s.) 'for his property situate in the parish of Stoke Mandevile' (Hallam). *Danegelt* was the old land-tax levied in order to protect the country from the Danes, either by force or by bribery. It was first levied by Ethelred II. in 991 A.D., revived by William I. and abolished by Stephen. In their imposition of 'ship-money' Charles I. and his advisers appealed to the precedent of *Danegelt*. Besides the *Danegelt* Ethelred seems to have levied a tax, with

the consent of the Witenagemot, in order to raise a fleet; so Charles had precedents enough. The only thing wanting was the consent of Parliament, which he considered an unnecessary detail.

44. 14. if that were all: *i.e.* if nothing but immunity from a tax were at stake. When Milton returned from the Continent in 1639, thinking it 'base to be travelling abroad for amusement' while his countrymen were fighting for liberty, he did not make any attempt to throw in his lot with any political leaders. We hear of no co-operation with the followers of Pym and Hampden, far less of any attempt to curry favour and obtain a footing as politician. Resolved to serve, he was content to stand and wait, 'cheerfully leaving,' as he says, 'the event of public affairs first to God and then to those to whom the people had committed that task.' His nephew, Edward Philips, tells us that there was some talk about Milton accepting a military post on his return to England. If this were so, it came to nothing. Even Prof. Masson's investigations have failed to unearth any proof that Milton's familiarity with military terms was derived from personal experience of military life. The Sonnet addressed (in 1642), in what might seem to some a somewhat pusillanimous tone, to the royalist 'Captain or Colonel or knight in arms' who might seize on the 'defenceless doors' of his lodging in Aldersgate Street, is sufficient proof that Milton was no soldier. Below (45. 34) he speaks disparagingly of 'soldiership' as compared with the 'wars of Truth.'

44. 16. above all liberties: *i.e.* above all other kinds of liberty.

44. 19. unsuitableness to ...: *i.e.* 'disconformity to' (45. 1) commonly accepted opinions.

44. 26. Lord Brook(e), Robert Grevil(le), was the (adopted?) son of Fulke Greville, the friend of Sir Philip Sidney, who lived into the reign of Charles I., and was created Lord Brooke in 1627. This second Lord Brooke was an opponent of the hierarchy which, 'with all Humility,' he attacked in his *Discourse on Episcopacy*. In 1642(3), while assaulting with Parliamentary troops Lichfield Cathedral, held by Lord Chesterfield, he was killed by a bullet shot from the tower. By the Parliament he was lamented as one 'whose most illustrious name and memory deserves to remain deeply engraven in letters of gold on high erected pillars of marble' (quoted by Mr. Osborn). By the episcopal party, as but natural, he was regarded otherwise. In his Diary, Archbishop Laud comments on the facts that this 'great and known enemy to Cathedral Churches died thus fearfully in the assault of a Cathedral,' and that 'this happened on St. Chad's day, of which saint the Cathedral bears the name.'

44. 28. **vote** = Lat. *votum*, vow, earnest prayer.

44. 30. **so full of meekness** He affects large toleration and charity, and describes his *Discourse on Episcopacy* as a book 'Wherein, with all Humility, are represented some Considerations tending to the much desired Peace and long-expected Reformation of this our Mother Church.' In the book he says, 'I must confess that I begin to think there may be perhaps something more of God in these sects, which they call schisms, than appears at first glimpse.'

45. 1. **disconformity to** : 'nonconformity with' is now-a-days the ordinary form of expression.

45. 6. **And now** . . . : and now especially is the time when men should be freely permitted to write . . .

45. 8. **The temple of Janus** : probably originally a gate of the city or citadel, and later built in the form of an arch, with two (sometimes four) portals (hence Janus was called *bifrons*, or *quadrifrons*, and represented in his busts with two or four faces). The old Temple of Janus at Rome, built by Numa, was probably a covered passage through which troops went out in case of war. Hence the custom to open the Temple of Janus in time of war and keep it closed in time of peace—an event that occurred only thrice in the history of the Roman republic.

45. 8. **controversal** : turned in opposite directions. *Controverse*, like 'inverse,' 'transverse,' etc., would be a simpler form ; but probably Milton intends an allusion to 'controversy' and 'controversial.'

45. 14. **Her confuting**, *i.e.* when she confutes.

45. 18. **the discipline** . . . : the system. The external form as opposed (see 47. 15) to the 'doctrine.' In Milton's opinion differences, 'or rather indifferences,' in both discipline and doctrine are of no serious importance. Geneva 'discipline' is that of Calvin and his followers, which was taken over ready-fabricated by the English Puritans.

45. 21. **collusion**. The idea in *collusion* is that of secret agreement in order to evade the law. Thus the biblical precept is evaded and nullified by this conspiracy of stationers and politicians.

45. 22. **by the wise man**, *i.e.* Solomon. See *Prov.* ii. 6 and *passim*. Professor Hales refers us to *Matthew*, xiii. 44 ; but Milton would have scarcely called our Saviour 'the wise man.'

45. 26. **hath furnished out** The sense is : 'when a man has provided all his discoveries (or conclusions) with the best equipment,' *i.e.* armed and equipped them fully for the fray. See Dict. for possible derivation of *equip*. Milton uses *equipage* similarly in Sonnet xii.

45. 28. **battle**: often used by older writers for an army or battalion (usually the main body) drawn up in battle-array (*Macbeth*, v. vi., etc.).

45. 31. **dint** and **dent** are perhaps forms of the same word, i.e. A. Sax. *dynt*, a blow; hence a mark made by a blow (but *indented* is from Lat. *dens*, tooth). The real meaning therefore of such expressions as 'by dint of persuasion,' etc. (cf. 'dint of pity,' *Jul. Caesar*, III. ii.) is the same as in 'by dint of sword,' etc. (2 *Henry IV.* IV. i., etc.).

45. 33. **keep a narrow bridge**: a not uncommon occurrence in old Romances (such as the '*Cid*,' etc.). Prof. Hales cites an example from the *Faërie Queene* (v. ii. 4), where a bridge is thus occupied by a 'cursed cruel Sarazin.'

46. 5. **the old Proteus**. The story of Aristaeus and Proteus, the old man of the sea, as told by Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 390 seq.), should be looked up, or anyhow a Classical Dict. should be consulted.

46. 8. See 1 *Kings*, xxii. Micaiah at first prophesied smooth things, but when Ahab 'adjured' him to speak the truth, he did so.

46. 13. **nailed to the cross**. 'Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us .. and took it away, nailing it to his cross' (*Coloss.* ii. 14). See also *Gal.* v. and *Romans*, xiv.

46. 22. **linen decency**. Milton disdained what he called the 'spinstry' of the English ecclesiastics scarcely less than the 'cowls, hoods, and habits,' and all the 'trumpery' that in the *Par. Lost* (iv.) he relegates to the Limbo of Fools. The word **decency** is here disdainful. In the Prayer-book Rubrics we have 'with decency,' 'decent bason,' 'fair linen cloth,' etc. 'They bedecked the church,' says Milton in his *Church Reformation*, 'not in robes of pure innocence, but of pure *linen* ... terming the piebald frippery and ostentation of ceremonies *decency*.' The Presbyterians had rejected the surplice, and all 'linen decency' as papistical, and had assumed the black gown of the Genevan Calvinists. The 'linen decency' had been killed, but its ghost was still making itself troublesome.

46. 28. **care not ...**: do not mind keeping.

46. 32. **congealment** ... Cf. 35. 18, and see 1 *Cor.* iii. 12.

46. 34. **subdichotomies**: a word patched up from the Lat. *sub* and the Greek words *δίχα* (twice) and *τομή* (division); 'sub-bisections,' i.e. small divisions (*διχοτομία*, a division, is used by Aristotle).

47. 3. **the Angels' Ministry**. *Matt.* xiii.

47. 9. **extirpate**: this is (like 'situate,' 'elevate,' *Par. Lost*, viii. 558, etc.) the simpler form of the past participle. We

begin by taking the Latin past participle (e.g. *extirpatus*) in order to form our verb and then give it another (English) past-participle ending; thus we get many a word of unnecessary length, e.g. *frustrated* (see 24. 4), *situated*, *dedicated*, *elevated*, etc.

47. 15. doctrine ... discipline. See on 45. 18.

47. 17. Cf. *Ephes.* iv. 3.

47. 23. a deed? and This is apparently Milton's punctuation. The interrogation should really dribble on to l. 29, but it gets lost in the sands of dependent clauses, etc.

47. 29. to see to: to look at. Cf. 'a great altar to see to,' *Josh.* xxii. 10. The list of great men of unsightly appearance might perhaps be headed by Socrates; but he was by no means 'slight and contemptible.' As to St. Paul, see 2 *Cor.* x. 10. Agesilāus, the famous Spartan king, was 'small, mean-looking, and lame.'

47. 35. when God shakes See *Joel*, iii. 16.

48. 8. so as our earthly eyes See on 38. 11.

48. 9. appointed and confined: under orders and conditions. Cf. 15. 22.

48. 13. to set places. Cf. Christ's words to the woman of Samaria.

48. 14. Convocation, says Prof. Hales, was first summoned by writ in 1295, and until Wolsey's time met in St. Paul's; afterwards in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster. At the Reformation its powers were much circumscribed, but during Laud's presidency it arrogated to itself a wide-reaching authority.

48. 15. Chapel at Westminster: i.e. Henry the Seventh's Chapel, where the Westminster Assembly 'for settling the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England' held its meetings during a good many years. It was first summoned by Parliament to meet on July 1st, 1643. In 1645 the use of the Prayer-book was forbidden, and Presbyterianism established by law. See on 4. 30.

48. 16. canonized: pronounced to be orthodox; authorized. The Greek word *canon* means a rod used as a ruler; hence rule, regulation; hence what is ruled to be orthodox, a list of authorized writings, of saints, etc.

48. 21. voices: votes (Lat. *voces*, Germ. *Stimmen*); often thus used by Shakespeare.

48. 22. liege tombs, I suppose, means 'sovereign tombs' (the tombs of Queen Elizabeth, of Mary Queen of Scots, James I., etc.). The word *liege* (Fr. *lige*) is sometimes said to contain the sense 'bound' (as if from Lat. *ligatus*, like Fr. *lie*), and

sometimes to be connected with the Germ. *ledig* (free); sometimes it means a vassal, and sometimes a lord or sovereign; perhaps as mutually bound to each other. Here it can hardly mean 'loyal' or 'vassal.'

48. 33. to manage . . . : *i.e.* to master and to explain new views. The sense is rather that of the Fr. *manège* than of *ménage*.

48. 35. in that notion : *i.e.* thus regarded.

49. 13. to the contempt : in contempt. For *Imprimatur* see on 10. 20.

49. 14. triple ice : imitated from the *aes triplex* of Horace, who says the man that first navigated the sea must have had 'oak and triple bronze' around his heart.

49. 14. clung : perhaps past participle. If it is the past tense we must supply (as often) the relative. Prof. Hales well compares *Par. Lost*, x. 512, where there is a like ambiguity.

49. 15. I hope . . . Milton seems to almost insinuate that this was the case. See his remarks on the next page about those whom he suspects to be the contrivers of the new Order.

49. 18. Moses gave . . . See *Numbers*, xi. 28, 29.

49. 19. to young John. See *Luke*, ix. 49. Tradition and art represent S. John as the youngest of the apostles.

49. 24. this let : cf. 'let or hindrance.' Consult Dict. for radical difference between this *let* and the commoner 'let,' and see *Exodus*, v. 4, *Romans*, i. 13, *Hamlet*, i. iv., etc.

49. 26. Domenican. It was after its institution at Seville under the Domenican Torquemada that the Inquisition became so terrible. See on 6. 7 and 31. 16.

49. 29. unequal distribution : unfair apportionment, or dispensation, of justice.

49. 35. that order : passed, it seems, about two and a half years previously (Jan. 1641). For the later Order of 1643 see Introduction.

50. 3. executioner. His duties included book-burning. At the Restoration Milton's *Defensio Prima* and *Eikonoklastes* were 'burnt by the hangman.'

50. 5. authentic : genuinely or peculiarly Spanish. Milton uses the word sometimes where we would perhaps say 'very own'; e.g. 'her (Justice's) own authentic sword' (*Eikonoklastes*), and 'Jove's authentic fire' (*Par. Lost*, iv. 719).

50. 7. immediate : direct, 'from life.' For the Star Chamber and its Decree see Introduction. For derivation of the name see an English History.

50. 16. **precedent order.** See above, on 49. 35. And for this attack on the booksellers, see Introduction, p. xxx.

50. 20. **the poor ... copy.** See on 4. 25.

50. 23. **glosing colours** : specious representations. To *glose* or *gloss*, is to give a smooth shining surface ; hence, to give a specious appearance. (It must be distinguished from *to gloss*, to annotate.) The Lat. *color* was used to denote an highly-coloured, specious argument.

50. 30. **malignant** : an epithet applied by the Puritans to the Royalists.

50. 32. **sophisms** : sophistries. The Sophists (see on 7. 23) prided themselves on being able to 'make the weaker argument the stronger.'

50. 32. An **elench** or **elenchus** (a Greek word meaning 'refutation') is a form of argument (syllogism) in which an adversary, after making certain admissions, is compelled to refute himself ; hence a logical trap, a fallacious argument.

51. 1. **hath been erred** : a Latin (impersonal passive) form of expression.

51. 1. **and in highest ...** : *i.e.* and for those in highest authority to value plain-spoken advice ...

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

MILTON'S LIFE.

- | | |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1608. | Milton born, December 9, the second of three surviving children. Eldest, Anne, married Phillips and afterwards Agar. Youngest, Christopher, afterwards judge and knighted. |
| 1620. | At St. Paul's School. Friendship with Alex. Gill, Headmaster's son, and Ch. Diodati. |
| 1625. | To Cambridge, Christ's College. |

ENGLISH HISTORY AND LIT.

FOREIGN EVENTS.

1603. Elizabeth *d.*
1604. *Othello* (?) and *Measure for Measure*.
1605. Gunpowder Plot.
Edm. Waller *b.*
Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*.
1606. *Macbeth* and *King Lear*.
1608. *Antony and Cleopatra*.
1611. *Tempest* (?).
1612. Samuel Butler *b.*
1613. Princess Elisabeth *m.* Fred. V., Elector Palatine.
Jeremy Taylor *b.*
1615. Rise of Buckingham.
Richard Baxter *b.*
1616. Shakspeare *d.*
Beaumont *d.*
1618. Cowley *b.*
Sir W. Raleigh executed.
1620. Bacon's *Novvm Organvm*.
1621. Bacon's Fall.
1624. George Fox *b.*
1625. James I. *d.*
Fletcher dies of the plague.
Expedition to Cadiz.

1600. Calderon *b.*
1605. Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.
1606. Pierre Corneille *b.*
1607. Rembrandt *b.*
1608. Protestant 'Union.'
1609. R. Catholic 'Liga.'
1610. David Teniers *b.*
Henry IV. of France
assassinated.
Louis XIII. succeeds.
1612. Matthias Emperor.
1613. Murillo *b.*
- 1618-48. Thirty Years' War.
1619. Ferdinand II. Emperor.
1620. Battle of White Hill (Prag).
Pilgrim Fathers (Mayflower).
1621. Phillip III. of Spain *d.*
1622. Palatinatelost by Frederick
1623. Prince Charles at Madrid.
1625. Wallenstein's first army.
Ruysdael *b.*

MILTON'S LIFE.

-
- | | |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1626. | <i>Latin Elegies</i> , etc.; <i>Lines On death of a fair Infant</i> (his niece)—his first English poem. Quarrel with College Tutor. Rustication. |
| 1628. | <i>Vacation Exercise</i> (preludings of the future 'organ-voice'). |
| 1629. | B.A. <i>Ode on the Nativity</i> . |
| 1630. | <i>The Circumcision</i> ; <i>Epitaph on Shakspeare</i> ; <i>A Solemn Music</i> . |
| 1632. | M.A. Camb. <i>Sonnet I</i> . Retires to Horton in Bucks, where he lives for five years with his father, 'turning over the Latin and Greek writers' and visiting London to hear 'something new in mathematics and music.' Nor during these years merely receptive. |
| 1633. | <i>Arcades</i> (possibly in 1631), the 'part of a Mask' given to the aged Countess Dowager of Derby. Probably also <i>L'Allegro</i> and <i>Il Penseroso</i> . |
| 1634. | <i>Comus</i> , 'a Mask presented at Ludlow Castle before John, Earl of Bridgewater,' with music by Henry Lawes. Lady Alice Egerton, the Earl's daughter, and her brothers play the parts. It was published anonymously by Lawes in 1637. |
| 1635. | M.A. Oxford. |
| 1637. | <i>Lycidas</i> , written for a collection of verses made by Cambridge friends in memory of Ed. King, drowned in crossing to Ireland. |
| 1638-9. | Continental travels: Paris (Grotius); Florence (Galileo); Rome; Naples (Manso); Geneva. <i>Italian Sonnets</i> and <i>Epitaphium Damonis</i> (Elegy on death of Ch. Diodati). On return undertakes tuition of nephews at house near St. Bride's Churchyard. Shortly afterwards moves to Aldersgate Street. |
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ENGLISH HISTORY AND LIT.

FOREIGN EVENTS.

1626. Forced Loan. Bacon <i>d.</i>	
1628. Petition of Right. Murder of Buckingham. Tonnage and Poundage. Bunyan <i>b.</i>	1628. Siege of Stralsund.
1629. Breach between Charles and Commons.	
1631. Dryden <i>b.</i> George Herbert's <i>Sacred Poems.</i>	1630. Gust. Adolphus lands. Wallenstein deposed.
1632. Wentworth (Strafford) in Ireland. Samuel Pepys <i>b.</i> John Locke <i>b.</i>	1631. Sack of Magdeburg. Battle of Breitenfeld. Gust. Adolphus at Mainz.
1633. Laud, Archbp. of Canter- bury.	1632. Gust. Adolphus slain at Battle of Lützen. Spinoza <i>b.</i> Galileo before the Inquisi- tion.
1634. First Ship-money Writ.	1634. Wallenstein murdered at Eger.
	1635. Lope de Vega, Spanish poet, <i>d.</i>
	1636. French Academy founded.
1637. Hampden refuses to pay Ship-money. Revolt in Edinburgh. Ben Jonson <i>d.</i>	1637. Ferdinand III. Emperor. Descartes' <i>Discourse on Method.</i>
	1639. Racine <i>b.</i> Bernard of Weimar <i>d.</i>
1640. Short Parliament. Long Parliament meets, Nov. 3. Massinger <i>d.</i> Wycherley <i>b.</i>	1640. Rubens <i>d.</i> at Antwerp. Frederick William the 'Great Elector.'

MILTON'S LIFE.

1641.	The 'Pamphlet Year': <i>Of Reformation in England; Prelatical Episcopacy; Reason of Church Government; Animadversions.</i> Drafts of subjects for an Epic (Trinity Coll. MS.)—among these several of <i>Paradise Lost</i> .
1642.	<i>Apology for Smectymnuus.</i> <i>Sonnet</i> : 'When an assault was intended to the city.'
1643.	Marries Mary Powell. She goes home to her father and refuses to return. <i>First Divorce Tract</i> .
1644.	Feb. 2nd edition of <i>Divorce Tract</i> . June. <i>Tract on Education</i> . July. <i>2nd Divorce Tract</i> . Nov. <i>Areopagitica</i> .
1645.	Two more <i>Divorce Tracts</i> (<i>Tetrachordon</i> and <i>Colasterion</i>); two <i>Sonnets</i> against 'detractors.' His wife returns. Moves from Aldersgate to Barbican.
1646.	Breaks with Presbyterians. <i>Sonnet</i> on 'Forcers of Conscience.' Publishes collected Poems. His father dies.
1647.	Gives up pupils and moves to house near Lincoln's Inn Fields.
1649.	Sight begins to fail. Made 'Secretary for foreign tongues' to the Council. Moves to Whitehall. <i>Tenure of Kings; Eikonoklastes</i> .

ENGLISH HISTORY AND LIT.

FOREIGN EVENTS.

1641. Strafford executed.
Charles in Scotland.
Irish Massacre.
Grand Remonstrance.
Impeachment of the 12
Bishops.
1642. Attempt on the 5 Members.
Charles before Hull.
Charles raises standard at
Nottingham.
(1st Civil War.)
Edgehill, Oct. 23.
Isaac Newton b., Christmas
Day.
1643. Assembly of Divines at
Westminster.
Solemn League and Coven-
ant.
Siege of Gloucester.
1st Battle of Newbury.
Pym and Hampden d.
1644. Marston Moor, *July*.
2nd Battle of Newbury, *Oct*.
William Penn b.
1645. New 'Model' Army.
Naseby, *June*.
Laud executed.
1646. Charles surrenders to Scots.
1647. Scots give Charles up to
Parliament.
Army occupies London,
Aug.
Flight of Charles to Isle of
Wight.
1648. Revolt of fleet and Kent.
(2nd Civil War.)
Preston, *Aug*. 18.
Pride's Purge, *Dec*.
Royal Society (at Oxford).
1649. Charles beheaded, *Jan*. 30.
1650. Cromwell in Scotland.
Battle of Dunbar.

1641. Van Dyck d. in England.
1642. Tortenson and Swedes vic-
torious at Leipzig.
1643. Louis XIII. d.
Copernicus publishes his
System.
1645. Turenne and Condé in
Germany.
1648. Peace of Westphalia.

MILTON'S LIFE.

1651.	Moves to 'garden-house' in Petty France, Westminster, overlooking St. James' Park. <i>Defensio pro Populo Anglicano.</i>
1652.	Total eclipse of eyesight.
1653.	His wife dies.
1654.	<i>Defensio secunda.</i>
1655.	Sonnet 'On the late massacre in Piedmont.'
1656.	Marries Catherine Woodcock.
1658.	His second wife dies. Sonnet: 'Methought I saw . . .' Begins <i>Par. Lost</i> .
1659.	<i>Way to remove Hirelings</i> , and other Treatises.
1660.	<i>Ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth.</i> In hiding. In custody. <i>Defensio</i> and <i>Eikonoklastes</i> burnt by hangman. Loses much property. Lodges in Holborn, then in Jewin Street.

ENGLISH HISTORY AND LIT.

FOREIGN EVENTS.

1651. Battle of Worcester.
Union with Scotland and Ireland.
Hobbes' Leviathan.
1652. War with Holland.
Victory of Tromp.
1653. Victory of Blake.
Dissolution of the Long Parliament.
'Barebone's' Parliament
(*July-Dec.*).
Instrument of Government.
Cromwell Protector.
1654. Cromwell's 1st Parliament.
1655. Parliament dissolved.
The Major-Generals.
French Alliance.
Blake in the Mediterranean.
Conquest of Jamaica.
1656. 2nd Protectorate Parliament.
Humble Petition and Advice.
1657. Cromwell refuses Kingship,
and installed anew as Protector.
1658. 2nd Parliament dissolved.
Battle of the Dunes.
Dunkirk ceded to England.
Cromwell dies, *Sept. 3.*
Rich. Cromwell Protector.
1659. Long Parliament recalled
and expelled.
1660. Monk enters London.
The 'Rump' dissolves itself.
Charles' 'Declaration of Breda.'
Charles lands, *May.*
Union with Scotland and Ireland dissolved.
1661. Daniel de Foe b.
1662. Charles m. Catharine of Braganza.
Dunkirk sold to Louis XIV.

1653. Moliere's first play.

1655. Massacre of Vaudois.

1657. Leopold I. Emperor.

1660. Velasquez d.

MILTON'S LIFE.

1664.	Marries Elisabeth Munshill. Moves to house opposite Artillery Ground, Bunhill Row. Here he resides till his death.
1665.	During Plague at Chalfont, Bucks, in house hired by Ellwood. <i>Par. Lost</i> completed. <i>Par. Regained</i> begun.
1666.	His house in Bread Street burnt.
1667.	<i>Par. Lost</i> published.
1669.	<i>History of England.</i>
1670.	<i>Par. Regained</i> and <i>Samson Agonistes</i> published.
1673.	<i>On true Religion, Heresy, and Schism.</i> Early Poems republished. <i>De Doctrina Christiana</i> : left partly copied out at his death.
1674.	Second edition of <i>Par. Lost</i> . Dies Nov. 8.

ENGLISH HISTORY AND LIT.

FOREIGN EVENTS.

1664. War with Holland.
1665. Five Mile Act.
Plague in London.
Newton's *Theory of Fluxions*.
1666. Fire of London.
1667. The Dutch in the Medway.
Peace of Breda.
Clarendon exiled.
1668. The Triple Alliance (England, Holland, Sweden).
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (with France).
1670. Treaty of Dover.
Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.
1671. Newton's *Theory of Light*.
Charles intrigues with Louis XIV.
1672. War renewed with Holland.
Declaration of Indulgence.
1673. Declaration of Indulgence withdrawn.
Shaftesbury dismissed.
James m. Mary of Modena.
1674. Peace with Holland.
Danby, Lord Treasurer.
1675. Secret treaties of Charles with Louis.
1677. Mary m. William of Orange.
1678. The 'Popish Plot.'
Shaftesbury in power.
1682. The Rye House Plot.
1683. Algernon Sidney and Lord Russell executed.
1685. Charles II. *d.*
James II. succeeds.
Monmouth's rebellion.
Bloody Assizes.

1664. Turks def. by Austrians and Hungarians at St. Gothard on the Raab.
Racine's first tragedy.
1665. Philip IV., of Spain, *d.*
Charles II. succeeds.
1669. Turks conquer Crete.
1672. Louis XIV. attacks Holland.
The 'Great Elector' aids the Dutch.
1673. Moliere *d.*
1683. Turks routed by Polish King Sobieski before Vienna.
Calderon *d.*

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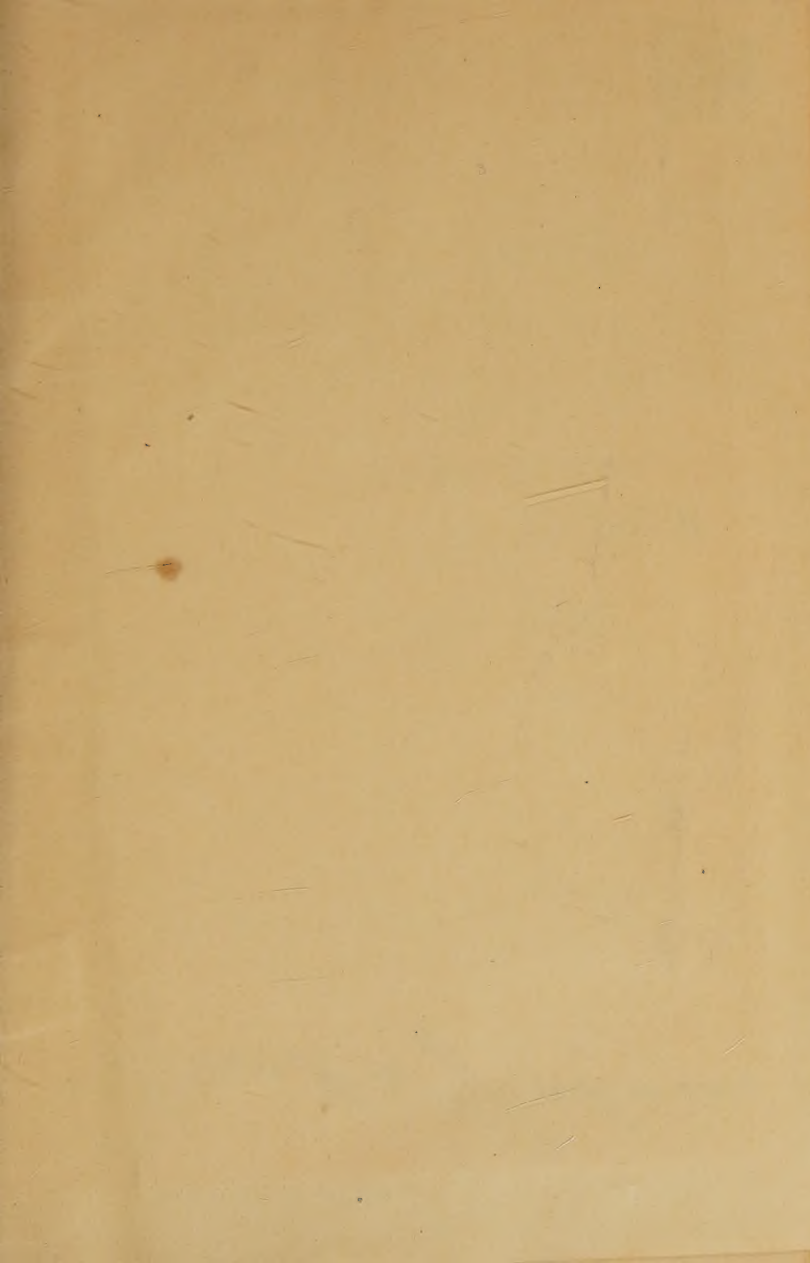
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